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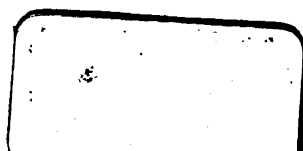
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ERRATA TO VOL. XXXIII.

P. 101, l. 37, *for* "raisonnée" *read* "raisonné." P. 194, l. 19, *for* "V. C." *read* "V. P." P. 197, l. 27, *for* "Court of Roll" *read* "Court Roll." P. 221, l. 38, *for* "Wilson" *read* "Willson." P. 224, l. 8, *for* "Giles" *read* "Nigel." P. 303, l. 37, *for* "Pitero" *read* "Piero."

## Byland Abbey Exploration.

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WHEN the Royal Archæological Institute visited Byland Abbey, in 1874, during the Ripon Meeting, a general wish was expressed that some efforts should be made to remove the fallen rubbish by which the remains are encumbered, and thus disclose the original plan and arrangement of the Church and Conventual buildings. The Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Association lost no time in communicating with Major Stapylton, the owner of the ruins, who most readily entertained the suggestion that a thorough and scientific examination and exploration of the Abbey should be made under the direction of Mr. Edmund Sharpe, M.A., of Lancaster. Having thus secured the cordial support and co-operation of the owner, Mr. Sharpe was applied to, and most kindly consented to advise the Council as to the best method to be adopted in pursuing the proposed investigation, and, after meeting a deputation at Byland, he has prepared the Report which is given below. From this and from the account of the Abbey by which it is followed, a general idea of the magnitude and importance of the scheme can be obtained.

What the Council seeks is, to do for Byland what the noble owners of Fountains Abbey and Jervaulx Abbey have at great cost already effected in those important ruins, and they appeal with confidence, not only to the members of their Association and to Yorkshiresmen generally, but also to all antiquaries, archæologists, architects, and others, who may appreciate the value and importance of the object in view, to support them by contributing liberally to a special fund to be devoted to this purpose.

This 'Special Fund' will be wholly distinct from the general funds of the Association, and the Council in undertaking its administration will hope to have the assistance and co-operation of a committee of subscribers to be nominated when a sufficient response to this appeal has been made to justify a commencement of operations. Substantial

donations have been already promised, and a list of subscribers will from time to time be issued, together with reports of the work as it proceeds.

The Council feels that the present opportunity of making a considerable and important addition to the materials available for the history of Cistercian abbeys under Mr. Sharpe's direction, ought to be eagerly accepted and at once, and hopes that any one into whose hands this appeal may come will consider it favourably, and by a prompt and liberal reply enable the Council to commence the work as early as possible in the Spring of 1876.

Cheques and Post-office orders may be sent to either of the undersigned, at their addresses given below, or may be paid direct to the "Byland Abbey account," at the West Riding Union Bank, Huddersfield.

By order of the Council,

<i>Hon. Secs.</i>	{	FAIRLESS BARBER,
		Castle Hill, Rastrick, Brighouse.
		GEO. W. TOMLINSON,
		24, Queen Street, Huddersfield.

*December 31st, 1875.*

#### MR. SHARPE'S REPORT.

##### **Byland Abbey.**

To the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

##### MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :

I have much pleasure in forwarding to you, according to the request of your Secretary, Mr. Fairless Barber, the conclusions at which I have arrived since I met him and Mr. Thomas Brooke as a deputation from your Council in August last at the ruins of Byland Abbey, as to the manner in which the project for the excavation of these ruins should be carried into effect.

The first point to be determined was the site to which the useless rubbish should be removed ; this was fixed to the entire satisfaction of Major Stapylton's agent, Mr. Munby, on the ground, at the time of our visit. The site chosen presents the following advantages : it lies within the grounds of the Abbey and on the south side of the ruins, and, although within easy reach of the parts to be excavated, the heap will be so hidden as to present no eye-sore from any point in the general view :—it can be approached in a straight line from the central point of the excavations, and with a uniformly falling gradient.

I propose that the first point of attack be the nave of the church, and that a tramway either of planks or rails be laid from a point in the wall of the south aisle, in a straight line to the site of the rubbish heap, through the Refectory ; and that the whole of the rubbish that covers the floor of the nave be first removed ;—the squared un moulded stone and large rubble being left, where found, for Major Stapylton's use, and for immediate removal ; and all carved or moulded stone-work being also left where found for future classification and arrangement.

The nave of the church being thus cleared down to the level of its original floor, I propose that the operations, if so far successful, should be then extended to the Crossing, the Transepts, and the Choir.

The floor of the entire church being thus cleared down to its original level, I believe it will be found that the Bases of the whole of the Piers, and probably portions of the Piers themselves, will be met with standing *in situ* ; and that sufficient of the moulded and carved work will be discovered in the course of the excavations, to enable us to determine the form and character of the Pier-capitals, the Pier-arches, and of the Blind-story, and Clere-story openings. It is also possible that sufficient traces may be left to indicate to us the manner in which the different parts of the Church were divided from one another, screened off, and occupied respectively by the Monks, the Conversi, and the Public ; the remains of the Altars may be found also *in situ*.

I propose that the whole of this work be done by contract and tender, under a specification that I shall be glad to draw up when the proper moment arrives. This contract may be divided into two parts, the first applying to the

Nave of the Church only, and the second to the rest of the Church.

Should the results of this work be encouraging, I should then propose to carry out similar works in those portions of the Conventual Buildings, where we may meet with carved or moulded work of such a character as to render such work fruitful in results. As this is most likely to be the case with those buildings that, after the Church, usually received the most ornamental treatment, I should propose to commence with those situated on the east side of the Cloister Quadrangle, and first with the Sacristy and Chapter House. It will be interesting to ascertain whether these both exist in their normal situations ; whether there are any traces of the Penitential Cell adjoining the South transept, or to the west of the Sacristy ; whether the series of triple arch-ways existed on the Chapter House front, and what their character, date, and ornamentation may have been ; whether the Chapter House was divided, as at Furness and Jervaulx, into four compartments longitudinally, and into three latitudinally ; whether the usual passage out of the cloisters from West to East adjoined the Chapter House ; and whether there still exists in the floor of the Chapter House any of the monumental slabs of the abbots that were buried there.

Without having attempted to form anything like an exact estimate of these works, I am of opinion that seven or eight hundred pounds will be found amply sufficient to carry out all that is above described : and that the subscription of half that amount would justify your taking the necessary steps, for offering the first work, that of the nave, to public tender.

As soon, therefore, as you consider that the Society is in a condition to take this first step, I will, on receiving an intimation from you to that effect, send a surveyor over to make an accurate plan of the parts to be excavated, with cross sections in both directions, and correct measurements of the work to be executed ; and I shall be glad then to draw up a specification of this work, detailing the conditions and manner in which it is to be carried out.

I enclose a proof copy of my description of Byland Abbey, as it will appear in the second part of my Paper on *Cistercian Architecture*, to be published in the second number of my *Illustrated Papers on Church Architecture*, now in the Press,

in the hope that it may be useful to you in the appeal you may make to those likely to be interested in this work, and with liberty to use it in whatever way you please.

I am, My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

EDMD. SHARPE.

QUARRY HILL, LANCASTER,  
November 14th, 1876.

## DESCRIPTION OF BYLAND ABBEY.

### BYLAND.—BELLA LANDA.

THIS Abbey lies in a broad valley about two miles North-East of the village of Coxwold in Yorkshire, and eight miles East of Thirsk.

It was an affiliation of Furness. Its early history was written by Philip, the third Abbot, in the year 1197, in the second year of his Abbacy; this history is given entire by Dugdale in his notice of Byland Abbey;<sup>1</sup> but although it gives an interesting account of the troubles and wanderings of the twelve Furness monks with their principal, who colonized Byland, and whose names are all handed down in this Chronicle, it is only indirectly that we derive from it any knowledge of the year in which the Abbey Church, the magnificence of which is attested by the remains that still exist, was commenced.

It appears that the colony left Furness in the year 1134: that they first went to Calder; but driven out there, they fled into Yorkshire, where they were hospitably entertained by the mother of Roger de Mowbray, who became ultimately their chief benefactor, and settled them first at a place called Hood, in the parish of Hovingham, where they remained four years; afterwards at Byland on the Moor, or old Byland,—four miles north of the former place; and subsequently at a place called Stockyng, where, Abbot Philip tells us, they built a stone church, a cloister, and other edifices. They remained there thirty years, during which time their possessions so greatly increased that they determined to commence,

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 349; Num. vii.



on a fresh site, which had previously been given to them by Sir Thomas de Colvil, a church that should surpass in size and in its general character all existing churches of the order, with conventual buildings on a proportionate scale.

That this church was not commenced until some time after the year 1150, when Roger de Mowbray obtained from Roger, Bishop of York, the promise to take the Abbey under his protection, on its freedom from the persecution and claims of the Abbots of Furness and Savigny, is obvious from Abbot Philip's detailed account of the pains taken by the monks, subsequent to this date, to clear of timber, and to drain the land, where they intended to place their new Convent. That it must have been commenced and advanced to the point which enabled them to hold their services in it before A.D. 1177 is also certain from the fact, that, on the 31st of October in that year, the monks migrated from Stockyng to the new site, which is very accurately described in Abbot Philip's account as lying between Whiteker and the foot of the mountain of Cambe, close to Burtoft and Berselyva. That it was moreover finished, so far as the structure itself was concerned, before 1197, the year in which Abbot Philip wrote, is also evident from the terms in which he refers to it.<sup>2</sup> Had I to attach a date to this Church, judging from the internal evidence of the character of the work alone, I should be disposed to fix upon 1170 as

<sup>2</sup> "Cum ergo dominus Rogerus Mowbray fundator noster audiasset et vidisset multas calumpnias graves et injustas super domum et monachos suos de Bella Lauda maliciose de die in diem et vehementer agitari, cogitavit apud se quomodo incommodis obviare et monachis tranquillitatem posset conferre: insuper et qualiter dona sua et Gundress matris sue, quæ eisdem monachis per vices ante dederant, valebant firmius et securius tueri, et illibato custodiri, perrexit cum militibus suis idem R. Mowbray ad dominum Rogerum nobilem virum tunc Archiepiscopum Eboraci et ad capitulum Sancti Petri ibidem, humiliter et devote eisdem supplicans, ut dona sua elemosinaria, necnon et matris sue scripto suo autentico protegere dignarentur et conservare. Unde dictus archiepiscopus et capitulum petitionibus tam magni viri et mulieris consensum et assensum præbuerunt, eadem dona scriptis suis autenticis roboraverunt eo libentius quo noverunt servos Christi à tanto viro devotius visi-

tari: et sic idem archiepiscopus suscepit in protectionem beati Petri et suam domum Bellande anno pontificatus sui secundo; scilicet anno Domini MCLV. — Cum verò dictus Abbas R. cum suis monachis in occidentali parte territorii de Cukwold, ut supradictum est, mansissent, viriliter extirpare cœperunt de nemore, et per fossas longas et latas magnas aquas de paludibus extrahere: ac postquam apparuit solida terra paraverunt sibi locum latum, ydoneum et honestum in orientali parte ejusdem territorii inter Whiteker et pedem montis Cambe, scilicet juxta Burtoft et Berselyvam ubi de novo ecclesiam suam pulchram et magnam construxerunt, sicut patet in præsentis, quam consummet altissimus et conservet in secula seculorum. Et sic de Stockyng se illuc transtulerunt, in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MC septuagesimo septimo, ubi, Domino annuente, feliciter manebunt in æternum."—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 353.

the probable date of the design, a date, which judging from the external evidence afforded by Abbot Philip's history, must, at all events, be the latest that it is possible to assign to it.

Thus fixed as to the period of its construction, this building becomes, with certain qualifications due to its Cistercian origin, one of the most valuable landmarks in the History of our National Architecture. It was the largest Church of the Order built from one design ; for although FOUNTAINS and RIEVAULX Abbey Churches in their present condition are both larger than that of BYLAND, they were not so, as originally constructed ; their increased length being due to the reconstruction of their Choirs in the 13th Century. It was the first, and I believe the only church of the Order in which the Piers and Arches of the Ground-story were carried round the whole structure ; for not only had the Nave and Transepts side-aisles, the former North and South, and the latter East and West, but the Choir had an Eastern aisle, as well as a North and South Aisle.

It is also the first Cistercian structure in which the pointed arch makes its appearance in arches of Decoration ; for although it is certain that the whole of the lower windows, and probably the whole of the doorways, except those on the West Front, were circular-headed, yet the pointed arch occurs in the Blind-story arcade, and probably in the Clere-story, whilst the three great Windows of the West Front and two of its Doorways were pointed.

The only Pier Capitals that remain are those of the Respond Piers of the South Transept, which probably represent the type of those of the whole Church : they carry the Transitional Volute on all their faces, and were constructed exactly at the time when this short-lived ornament was most in vogue.<sup>3</sup>

The only portions of the Church left standing are the walls of the North aisle of the Nave, and portions of the North Transept and East end up to the same height, the greater part of the West Front, and the South East corner of the South Transept.

The West Front bears evident marks of having been covered, in its lower part, by a lean-to Narthex, or West Portico, as at FOUNTAINS and FONTENAY.

<sup>3</sup> They are given in *The Ornamentation of the Transitional Period*.

The Foundations of the Piers have been sufficiently traced to enable us to recover the entire plan of the church ; but the whole of the Cloisters and Conventual buildings have been completely demolished. A project is entertained, with the sanction of the proprietor, of laying bare the floor of the church by the removal of the mounds of rubbish which now cover it ; should this be carried into effect, and extended to the site of the Conventual buildings, much interesting information cannot fail to be obtained, and probably many valuable fragments of the moulded work of those parts of the building of which we have at present no certain knowledge.

Illustrations of this Abbey Church are given in my *Architectural Parallels*, and of many of its details in *The Mouldings of the Six Periods of English Architecture*.

Of the Conventual buildings, the outlines only can be traced in the heaps of rubbish, which are to be seen on the south side of the Church ; it is probable, however, should the project of a careful examination of these remains be carried into effect, that portions of the lower parts of the walls of most of the domestic buildings will be discovered, and probably those of the entrance to the Chapter House, as well as carved and moulded detail of some importance.

Of the walls of the Domus Conversorum parts are left, and sufficient remains of a wall to the East of the latter building, to lead us to suppose that there existed here, as at CLERVAUX and BEAULIEU, the same broad passage between the Cloister and the Domus Conversorum, of which we have indications at KIRKSTALL, and which formed an independent means of approach to the South Aisle of the Church near its West end.

E. S.





Twenty-second subject in third window, Trinity Chapel. "The cure of a Physician of Perigord at the Tomb of St. Thomas." Shows the original tomb, with relics.

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## NOTES ON EARLY GLASS IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

By W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.<sup>1</sup>

It is but fitting that the oldest, and perhaps I may add the best, stained glass in England should be found in Canterbury Cathedral. To a few small specimens in other churches chiefly consisting of ornamental work without figures, a greater antiquity has been doubtfully assigned. But in the three windows which contain the Miracles of St. Thomas ; in the east window, which displayed the mystic symbolism with which the piety of the middle ages overlaid the story of the Redeemer's Passion ; in the two windows of the north aisle, which are all that is left to us out of six described in an early manuscript ; in the circular window of the north-eastern transept, and in more than half a dozen subjects now scattered in various parts of the church, and separated from the different series to which they originally belonged—in all these examples of the art of glass painting as it was practised in the thirteenth century—perhaps, as I hope to show, in the twelfth—Canterbury can boast of such a display as may favourably compare with any other either here or on the continent.

Three windows in Trinity Chapel are filled with representations of the Miracles of St. Thomas. The third of them appears to me slightly later than the other two, or two and a half—and this, for three reasons : first, because the scroll work is rather more free than in the other two ; secondly, because the lettering is of a slightly different and not so rigid a type ; but principally for a reason, which it is not very easy to put into words, but which, nevertheless, is of weight, especially with any one whose eye is accustomed to the comparison and criticism of works of art. It is this, that

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Institute, July 22nd, 1875.

not only do the designs appear inferior to those in the other two windows, but they are imitated from them. No one can pronounce absolutely upon an imitation. It is impossible in such cases as this to say with any certainty, which is the original of two very similar pictures. But as a rule we infer that the better is the original and the inferior the copy. And so in this third window not only do we find the same designs and the same compositions as in the others, but we find them carried out by the hand of a less skilful artist, and have grounds for a presumption, not of course amounting to proof, that this is the latest of the three windows. It has, however, received a considerable amount of attention, especially because of the great number of separate subjects it contains. For, while the first window has *sixteen* and the second *twenty-two*, this one has no fewer than *thirty-three* different pictures.

Canon Robertson has told us the story of Becket. There is no need that I should trespass on the ground he so well occupies. The records of the Life and Miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury fill many volumes. The four earliest of these compilations were irreverently likened in their day to the four Gospels, and the legend, with all the wonders it included, was probably much better known to the Englishman of six centuries ago, than the comparatively tame story to be found in the Evangelists. The subjects of these windows would therefore appeal to the senses of the pilgrim in the thirteenth century, as pictures of the Good Samaritan, or the Lost Sheep, might appeal to ours. There would, at least, be no doubt as to their meaning, and no question as to the lesson they were intended to inculcate.

Unfortunately for any very complete explanation of the different stories represented, there are few of them which do not involve some circumstance of a nature wholly unfit for modern ears. Many of them, indeed, go further than this ; and we can only suppose that the monks desire for the glory of their Saint was such, as to override all considerations of morality and decency, even such considerations as were current in the thirteenth century.

Having said so much by way of preface, I will endeavour to give you a somewhat shortened and chastened version of one or two of those stories which you will see most plainly in the glass.

The centre window of the three, contains four sets of designs. They are, beginning at the top—

A. The appearance of the Martyr to Benedict, as related by himself, and it is most interesting as containing in the first compartment a picture of the *Shrine*, of which a full description is given in Mr. Austin's note in the Dean of Westminster's "Memorials of Canterbury." Six separate pictures make up the whole compartment, two being smaller "span-drills" or angular pieces containing isolated cures wrought by the intervention of the Saint.

B. The second compartment contains representations of a story, which is not only several times repeated in each of the legend books, with changed names, but also occurs, with changed colours, in the other windows. It relates to the case of a lady of high rank, whose disease is arrested by drinking water from the well which the blood of St. Thomas had stained after his murder. Strange to say, the exact place of this famous well is now unknown, though the trade in water from it was, three hundred and fifty years ago, one of the chief sources of the revenue of the Shrine. It probably stood in the ground, now bare, to the north of the choir. In the first compartment is a curious verse, repeated in the first window (and elsewhere) :—

*Aruit exanguis redit hausto sanguine sanguis,*

signifying that the patient having arrived ill, was completely restored to health by a draught of the blood. The legends or verses which occur with each subject in these windows are often very hard to make out, especially when, as in the present case, the words are spelt according to the fancy or convenience of the glass painter. To Mr. Godfrey-Faussett I am indebted for almost all I now endeavour to put before you, and he gave me the interpretation of the word which both here and in another picture is written *HVASTO*. In this second compartment another verse occurs :—

*Cessant quartane vis forma subit quasi sane,*

which is also to be found in the neighbouring window, with a very similar picture.

C. The third compartment relates to a curious story, and one which well illustrates the manners of the age. It is related in more than one of the books, and must have been



extensively believed. A certain man at Dunstable, according to one version,—at Weston, “a royal town,” according to (Benedict) another,—but as both say, in Bedfordshire, bore the name of Eilward, and had among his neighbours one named Fulk, to whom he owed 2d. for the ploughing of half an acre of land. It happened on a certain festival after the passion of the blessed martyr,—so we read—that these two men, Eilward and Fulk, debtor and creditor, went together by chance to the same tavern, “for,” says the narrator, “it is the custom of the English on holy days to indulge in feasting and drunkenness, so that their enemies see them and deride their sabbaths.” These two, then, seem to have been not only no better than their neighbours, but no better, or worse, in this respect than Englishmen at the present day, after the lapse of six hundred years. They began to dispute about the debt, one denying that he owed it, and the other offering to let him off a part if he would spend it in beer. Indeed, if the names were changed, the dispute, which is given at some length, would fit exactly to what is repeated in our police courts every Easter and Christmas, or oftener. Eilward leaves the tavern first, and smarting under the taunts of his creditor, goes to Fulk’s house, breaks in the door, and in a blind drunken kind of way seeks what he may destroy. A pair of gloves, such as are used to this day, for hedging, and a whetstone, are all he can find. The children of Fulk, who are playing in the hall, run out to call their father. He comes in haste, and meeting Eilward at the door, seizes from him the whetstone, and at once, as we read, “breaks the whetstone on his head, and his head on the whetstone.” He then fetches the parish beadle, or, as we should say, the constable, in Latin “*præco*,” whose name is also Fulk, which, by the way, adds an element of great confusion to the story, and Eilward, lying drunk and with his head broken, is speedily apprehended and lodged in gaol at Bedford. He protests his innocence of any design of robbing Fulk; but, though he calls loudly on St. Thomas and the other Saints, he only secures thereby the interest of an old priest of his village, and of the prior of Bedford, or according to the other account, of Dunstable, whose name is Geoffrey; they both support him with food in prison, and confirm him in his faith in the intervention of the martyr, and especially, says one account, because he had been baptised on the

Eve of Pentecost. Geoffrey is adduced by the narrator in witness of the truth of the story. At length the time arrives for the trial, and Eilward, taken before the sheriff—*Vicecomes* (at Leighton Buzzard ?)—fails to clear himself, and refusing to submit to the ordeal of battle with Fulk, and being forbidden that of fire, which he desired, owing to the intervention of the other Fulk, who had been bribed, he is tried by water, “from which he could not escape,” as we read, and he is then condemned. Being dragged to the place of execution his eyes are plucked out, and he is otherwise mutilated, as appears in the window, where we see him lying on his back, at the feet of the Judge, while,” as the narrator tells us very minutely, “his left eye is pulled out bodily, and the right eye is lacerated and in part cut in two, but not altogether dug out—(*effossus*).” Then, the parts thus cut out having been buried under the sod, he is left half dead. Eilbrictus, a householder of the town, takes pity on him, and receives him into his house. There he remains for some days, praying earnestly. There comes to him at length a vision of angels by whom he is desired to address himself in particular to the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas of Canterbury. According to William, he was visited by St. Thomas himself, who touched his eyes with his staff, as represented in the window. At length, to the surprise of himself and all the neighbours, he begins to be conscious of returning sight, and his eyes, “the pupils half hidden,” as we read, “in his head, hardly as large as the eyes of a little bird,” are gradually restored, as well as the other losses he had suffered at the hands of the executioner, and he stands whole and well in the presence of many witnesses as shown in the lower compartment of the picture. William vouches for the truth of the story, and adds that Eilward became a pensioner at Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> As the ordeal was condemned by the Council of the Lateran in 1214, this story may be dated in the early years of the century.

D. The lowest compartment tells the story of a certain physician of Perigord. Having healed men all his life he fell sick of a dropsy himself. The physicians despaired, and the patient, from his own experience, knew how hopeless was his case. But one chance remained for him :—

*Spes desperanti superest in sanguine sancti.*

<sup>2</sup> “De martyris substantia stipem habens.”

He obtains some water from the holy well. He drinks and is cured ; and coming to the Shrine makes there an appropriate offering. The design for this last scene occurs also in the first window, the colours only being changed.

There are many other stories of a similar kind ; one relates to the resuscitation of a drowned pig ; and another tells of a gosling which was brought to life, when it had been killed by a dog ; and which, eventually becoming a grown up goose, lived to be eaten, in the ordinary course of nature, by the Monks of the Priory, who were willing to testify to the truth of the miraculous resurrection, having a lively recollection of the feast they made of him !

Such are the subjects in the middle window. It is by far the most perfect. Of the sixteen subjects in the most westerly of the three complete windows, I must say something, only remarking first that the glass appears to have been designed by the same hand as the one just spoken of ; and that several of the designs are repeated.

The first four pictures are of ordinary cures, such as are narrated literally by the score in the miracle books. The fifth and sixth are modern copies from pieces in the clerestory windows of the south choir aisle. They relate to the history of William de Kellet (Chislet ?), a carpenter, who, in cutting wood, hurt his leg with an axe, but calling in his fright on St. Thomas of Canterbury, his wound was miraculously healed. In the first picture we see him at his bench, the axe just slipping so as to strike his leg. In the second, he lies on his bed, and is removing a bandage, but the wound is not to be found. The next pictures tell a tale of ingratitude, of which several occur in the books. One of them is in the third window, and has been carefully described by Mr. Austin (Stanley, "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," p. 242). We may, therefore, go on to one of the lower groups, passing by another cure of a lady, perhaps "Tangareta of Wales," whose story I had better omit. We then come to two medallions, which, at some period have been misplaced. The first is that to the right. It represents a maniac, led by his attendants with cords and staves to the tomb of the Saint. The words over his head are part of a verse which is completed in the other picture ; *A mens accedit*. In the second, the panel to the left, we have the lunatic cured, the cords and scourges thrown upon the ground, and the patient kneeling

by the tomb, meekly giving thanks for his recovery. The rest of the verse is over his head :—

*Amens accedit : at sanus absque recedit.*

In the lowest range we have scenes almost the same as those in the adjoining window ; and the same verses underneath them.

The many representations of the Martyr's tomb as it was before the relics were translated to the Shrine are remarkable. They all agree in their main features, but almost all disagree in the colours. The two holes in the sides are clearly shown. The box, which Erasmus describes, as containing the Archbishop's sudary, and which Colet turned from with such disgust, is on the slab in most of the views. The windows were probably made while the tomb was still fresh in the memory, perhaps, while it yet existed, and while there was, so far, only the one miracle to record as having taken place at the new Shrine itself.

Six subjects, not very easily made out, but five of them apparently relating to the Saint's life, are in the adjoining half window to the westward, and with them a fine lozenge-shaped picture in a different style, representing the Agony in the Garden, which I do not doubt formed a portion of one of the series of windows in the "Crown" at the east end.

Of these beautiful windows only one remains. It is very complete, however, and is an admirable example of the intricate symbolism of the time. The subjects are arranged in three quatrefoils and two lozenges : the Crucifixion occupying a square panel at the foot, surrounded by representations of the Spies carrying the great Bunch of Grapes ; of Moses Striking the Rock ; of the Sacrifice of a Lamb in the Temple ; and of Abraham offering up Isaac on Mount Moriah. Next above is a lozenge-shaped panel, painted with the Entombment, adjoining which, we have Joseph's brethren putting him into the pit ; Sampson shorn in his sleep by Dalilah ; Daniel in a walled city, labelled "Babilonia ;" and Jonah let down into the jaws of the whale, by two men in a ship. Above these scenes is a quatrefoil, in the centre of which we see the Resurrection, surrounded by representations of Moses and the Burning Bush ; Noah in the Ark ; Rahab letting the Spies down by the Wall ; and Jonah landing near Nineveh from the mouth of a great whale. Then

another lozenge represents the Ascension, and the scenes surrounding it are, The Ark of the Mercy Seat ; Elijah ascending in a Chariot of Fire ; the Burial of Moses ; and Hezekiah sick, while an Angel gives him the sign of the shadow on the Dial of Ahaz. The last of the series is at the top. In a square panel we see the great event of the Day of Pentecost. Above it Christ sits enthroned in glory. Moses receiving the two Tables of the Law is below. On one side is the first Ordination of Deacons, and on the other the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Disciples. The whole style of this window is later than that of the Becket window, but not much, and the foliage is more free in design, while the colour is hardly so brilliant.

In the north aisle of the choir are two windows, all that remain of six described at folio 185 of a manuscript, now in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, which Mr. Coxe considers to be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It is printed by Battely in his edition of Sumner, and reprinted by the late Mr. Winston, in his "Hints on Glass Painting." From these sources we are able to make out that the first now remaining, is the second of the old series, the original first having been built up when the Lady or Dean's Chapel was made. From the list in Battely and Winston, we are able to gather that in the first remaining window are fourteen medallions, which were always in it, though now slightly misplaced, and seven which were in the sixth of the series. The Birth of Christ and His Early Life, together with the types from the Old Testament, which were considered symbolical, are depicted in the first fourteen panels. Thus, Balaam on his ass and with his star and the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah support at either side a representation of the Magi riding towards Bethlehem, the star appearing over their heads. In the third row again, we have the Mother and Child in the centre, with the Magi and Shepherds in one panel, and Joseph and his Brethren in the other. In the next series, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba should be at one side, but this panel is gone ; and at the other we still see the prophet with Jeroboam sacrificing. In the centre the Magi, asleep, all together in one bed, are warned by a dream not to return to Herod. After this point the series is interrupted, and we have a picture of Ahab with Jezebel and Elijah, which was in another part of the original



Canterbury Cathedral,  
 The first remaining Window in the North Aisle. "Fenestra Secunda," MS. C. C. Coll. Ox.  
 Three of the Central Compartments.



arrangement, and underneath a legend which appears to belong to a picture of three holy widows and virgins. Next we have a very quaint scene. Shem, Ham, and Japhet are engaged in dividing the earth, which one of them holds in his hands like a gorgeously-painted map. A figure stands by, which may be intended for Noah, but from the inscription and from Battely's MS. it seems more likely it is intended to represent a personification of the Church. Two scenes from the Parable of the Sower, and a picture in which the rich of this world are represented as counting their ill-gotten gold, all from the sixth window, complete this one as it now is.

In the other window we have a number of scenes of a very mixed character. Four full circles are flanked by six half circles, and two smaller panels. The circles are filled with (1) Christ Disputing with the Doctors; (2) The Apostles Fishing; (3) The Marriage in Cana; and (4) Nathaniel under the Fig Tree. The first circle has on the dexter side a scene from the life of Moses, in a half circle, and Daniel in judgment on the sinister. This set of three pictures appears to be in its own place, according to the Battely list. The medallion which represents the Apostles drawing their nets, is the third subject of the fourth window, now destroyed, and is flanked, on the dexter, or left hand, by "Noah in the Ark," which is in its original place in this window, and on the right by the "Six Ages of Man," from the original fourth window. The Marriage in Cana is also from the fourth window, where it was flanked by the "Six Ages of Man," and by the "Six Ages of the World,"<sup>2</sup> a subject now lost. The two half circles adjoining it now are, on the left, or dexter side, "The Doctors of the Church," from the fourth window, but it is not very clear, and appears to me to represent David with his harp, Solomon bearing his temple, and two other figures, which do not seem to be in the Battely list. On the other side is a panel from the sixth window. It represents Peter preaching on the Day of Pentecost. The medallion of "Nathaniel" is flanked by two little segments which apparently represent respectively the unbelieving and the believing Jews.

Among the most curious things to observe in the drawing of these subjects is a representation of a bronze idol in the

<sup>2</sup> Possibly this means the *Six Days of Creation*, as represented in MS. Bibles.



sixth panel of the first of these two windows. From it we may infer that the artist, whoever he was who designed the work, knew what was classical art, and deliberately preferred his own. The exaggerated muscular development which came in again three hundred years later under Michael Angelo and his contemporaries in Italy, is here seen quite plainly. The three clerestory windows above cannot be made out, but contain glass of the same period as that in the Becket windows, already described.

One thing more I must remark with respect to these windows. The first time I saw them I observed facing them a most interesting set of stone seats, evidently of contemporary work, for they formed part of the structure of the aisle. It appeared that these windows were made for instruction, and the seats were evidently provided for the bands of pilgrims who, coming to the shrine of the martyr, were here able at their ease to study the Gospel story. I cannot tell you my distress on discovering that, for some reason I have not been able to hear, these ancient stone seats have been hacked away and their places filled with hot-water pipes.

It would be very interesting if we could give an exact date to all this early glass. The representation of Becket's shrine makes it certain that the windows which contain his legend were placed here after 1220. On the other hand, the frequent representations of the tomb make it improbable that they are much later. In the stories of the Miracles we have very little to help us. The Bedfordshire miracle must have taken place before 1214, but very little before, as we gather from Benedict's mention of Prior Geoffrey, or Gervais. There is nothing known to exist in any manuscript which will give us the exact date more nearly.

But if exact information is thus meagre, we may console ourselves with the very decided indications afforded in these designs that they belong to the middle of the thirteenth century, or a very little earlier, without any reasonable doubt. The learned archæologist will easily find proofs in the Becket series on which he may ground an opinion. The dress, the architecture, the form of letter in the inscriptions and many other things of the kind will give him information, on which he may rely. For myself I must depend on none of these things, being insufficiently acquainted with any of



Canterbury Cathedral.

Fragment from a window in the North aisle of Choir, showing armour of the twelfth century.



the branches of research I have mentioned. But I have endeavoured to compare them with the illuminations of the thirteenth century, and have found reasons not only for believing that these designs were made at that period, but even for believing that they were made in England, and what is more, by English artists. At least two Bibles, now in the British Museum, contain illustrations of a very similar character, and of a similarly high rank in art. One of these Bibles has at the end the name of the writer, which is written *Wills. Deuoniensis*, William of Devonshire; and in it under a Crucifixion is a picture of the martyrdom and three other scenes of the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> The other Bible is of even more importance, for, although it is in a slightly inferior style of art, it is clearly contemporary with the work of William of Devon, and it bears not only the name of the scribe, but a date, a precious date. It was written by another William—Williams abounded in the walks of architecture, illumination, and literature, in those days—William of Hales, who finished it in the year 1254. The Vulgate had been revised by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, as you may remember.

By a comparison of the art, the English art, of these Bibles and others, for similar manuscripts are very common, we may obtain some idea of what English painters could do at the time. I do not doubt that these windows, then, were designed and painted some time in the early part of the thirteenth century, and that they were the work of an English artist. And perhaps I may add, that remembering William of Sens, and English William, and William of Devonshire, and William of Hales, and William of Canterbury, the biographer, it would not surprise me very much if the artist's name should appear to be William, too; though a contrary conclusion would perhaps be safer. Taking all things, then, into consideration, we may approximately date the Becket windows by remembering that the Trinity Chapel was completed, and the Saint's relics removed to the shrine on the 7th of July, 1220.

But we have still, if we can, to give a date to the windows in the north aisle. Mr. Winston, speaking of the stained glass of the period prior to 1280, says of them, "The most interesting series of English *picture* windows of this period

<sup>4</sup> Reg. 1. D. 1. fol. 231. vo.

that I have met with is in Canterbury Cathedral. Remains of painted glass, of an earlier character than this glass, are scattered about the country, but they are chiefly valuable as specimens of detail. Of the Canterbury glass, however, notwithstanding the severe injuries it has sustained at different times by actual violence, as well as neglect, and by being displaced in the course of alterations and removals, enough still remains, not only to afford abundant examples of detail, but also, with the aid of the descriptions left of it by Sumner and Gostling, pretty clearly to indicate the general nature and arrangement of the windows as they originally existed in the choir of the building." In a note Winston adds, "No documents have been found by which the date of the present glass can be determined. It is, I think, of the first half of the thirteenth century."

It would be very satisfactory to have a more exact date than this to offer. And after much useless conjecture I was on the point of giving up the problem when I met with a manuscript book of pictures in the British Museum, which appears to throw some light on the subject. It is known as "Nero C., iv.," and is certainly of the twelfth century. It contains a large number of scenes from Scripture history, beginning with the Creation, and including the well-known representation of Adam and Eve when they receive from the hands of the Creator a spade and a distaff respectively.

It consists of a Psalter, preceded by a series of "historiations," and a Calendar in which are entries which identify the manuscript as one belonging to the Nuns of Shaftesbury, and written for them about the year 1174.

The pictures have a remarkable likeness to those in these two windows, and as the aisle itself was finished in or before 1185, we may be justified in supposing that the windows are of a date not very much later. Among other subjects which occur in the Shaftesbury MS., and which are represented similarly in these windows, I may mention "Noe in Archa;" The Adoration of the Magi, one offering a ring; The three Magi asleep in one bed; Christ with the Doctors; The Marriage in Cana; The Magi and the Star, although in the picture the star itself is above the limits of the view, and the Kings are shown looking up towards it. The armour in which Goliath confronts David is very similar to that depicted on the glass.



Facsimile from Cott. MSS., Nero, C. iv. The Three Magi in bed.



No representation remains in the glass of Becket's murder. Yet such subjects are not uncommon in other parts of England, and one in Christ Church at Oxford has only been mutilated by the removal of the martyr's face. It is probably of the fourteenth century.

I have thus endeavoured to enumerate roughly the subjects in these remarkable windows. Fragments of glass of the same period are to be found scattered in other parts of the Cathedral, and some of them in the eastern transepts are well worthy of notice. The rose window in the southern transept represents, but dimly, the Synagogue, surrounded by Fortitude, Justice, "Epiphania," and Prudence. In that of the northern we see Moses and a Sybil in the centre, while figures of the four major prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel—fill the corners. The remaining spaces were probably filled with the minor prophets. Of all these subjects there is one thing to be observed as especially curious. In no case that I have yet been able to find, is more than one scene represented in the same picture. In later times, both in glass and in illuminations, such double and even treble scenes are common; but the better taste of the thirteenth century seems, for the most part, to have forbidden them. It is the same in the MS. Bibles.

Both in the north-eastern and the south-eastern transepts there are clerestory windows, very high up, which appear to represent scenes of Becket's life, but their distance and the age and obscurity of the glass have prevented my making them out with any distinctness.

A good deal of modern stained glass to imitate the old, has been inserted at different times. Some of it is very good. Some, on the other hand, is the very worst I have ever seen. I do not know who has put up the greater number of these windows, and hope I do not, unintentionally, wound any one's feelings if I say that some of them might judiciously be removed. The best modern imitation is, perhaps, a window to the memory of the late Dean Alford in the south transept. But two small lights higher up in the gable, serve by their hideous and startling discordance to injure very much the effect of the lower one.

A very fair Jesse window has been placed beside the "Passion Window" in Becket's Crown. It is much out of place there, and is paled and injured by its proximity to the



old glass. At the other end of the Cathedral, and in a wholly different style, are some staring and gaudy transparencies which have a sadly disturbing effect in every view of the Nave from the east.

As a Museum of the magnificent school of glass painting which existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, then, Canterbury Cathedral stands alone. That so much should have been preserved to us, in spite both of destroyers and of restorers, is a matter for surprise. We have here no fewer than eight magnificent windows, all either complete or nearly complete, and all dating before the year 1300, some probably before 1200 ; a precious legacy such as can be seen nowhere else in our country ; rivalled, perhaps, but not surpassed, by any of the same antiquity on the continent. I wish I could believe that anything I have ventured to say might be effectual in causing them to be valued as they ought to be valued, not alone in Canterbury, but in all England. Few of our Cathedral churches, it is true, have suffered more from the injudicious efforts of so-called restoration ; but in one thing credit is due and praise should be recorded, and I venture to hope you will join with me in acknowledging the care with which these noble examples of the taste of our forefathers have been preserved for our instruction and enjoyment, after all the changes and chances of more than six hundred long years.





## ES ON THE ABBEY BUILDINGS OF WESTMINSTER.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

Following memoir may be said to owe its origin to the Congress in 1874, at which the Cistercian plan was a special point of interest by Mr. Sharpe. A few years later the Rev. J. T. Fowler being in town, he and I spent several mornings together amongst the Abbey Buildings at Westminster, and found so much remaining that I continued the search, and made out the accompanying plan.<sup>1</sup> During this I have received much assistance from Mr. [unclear], the Clerk of Works to the Dean and Chapter, who most obligingly directed my attention to many old [unclear] inside the houses and in other places where, without assistance, I should have been very unlikely to find them, and, in every way, done what he could to facilitate my

believe that as much or more of the Abbey Buildings at Westminster as at Fountains, although here they have been tried in recent work and covered up by modern wall and fixtures, instead of being dissected and laid open for inspection, as in the famous Cistercian example. When the Abbey was secularized, only a few of the larger [unclear]s, such as the Frater and the Infirmary chapel, were no longer used, were dismantled. The remaining buildings were portioned out amongst the members and [unclear] of the new foundation, who altered them, more or less to suit their requirements, as their successors have continued to do to the present time, but there has been very little actual demolition. The result is, that although most of the buildings appear recent outside, there is much old [unclear] embedded in them, and this is often brought to light by repairs or alterations are going on. The quantity is daily being reduced, and my purpose now is to record

It is to say that the plan has not been made from a special survey, and with no pretension to minute accuracy.

all that I can at present discover. My business is with the fabric, and for documentary illustration I have made use only of printed and easily accessible matter. I am aware that in Abbot Ware's *Custumal*, and in the early Chapter books there is great store of information about the uses of the various buildings, but I have not had leisure to search these sources, and if I had waited until I could do so, the memoir might have never been written at all. I therefore offer it as it is, another sheaf of *Gleanings*, to use Sir Gilbert Scott's expression, and knowing that it does but little to reduce the quantity which remains to reward future workers.

Failing the Westminster *Custumal*, our chief guide to the buildings is the book known as the "Rites of Durham," in using which, however, we must bear in mind that Durham, like Worcester, differed from most monastic houses in being approached from the east instead of the west, and that, in consequence, the normal arrangement of the buildings was in a great measure reversed. The Parlour and the Prior's (or Abbot's, as the case might be) lodgings were there on the east instead of, as more usual, on the west, so as to be easily accessible to strangers; whilst, for the opposite reason the Dorter, Common-house, Infirmary and Treasury, usually upon the east side of the cloister, were there on the west. At Westminster the more usual plan was followed.

With this preface I go on to describe the buildings separately, in doing which I pass over purely architectural points, and for the most part also questions of date, because these have already been fully discussed by Sir Gilbert Scott and others in the *Gleanings*.

### THE CLOISTERS.

*East Walk.*—Entering the cloister from the church by the east cloister door we find on our left hand a very broad bench against the wall, extending as far as the entrance to the Chapter House. In the most northern bay<sup>2</sup> (1) the wall arcade, instead of being brought down by shafts as in the others, is stopped off at the springing by original brackets, as if to allow of some large piece of furniture being placed against the wall. Here, I believe, stood in the thirteenth century the *armarium commune*, or common book-case. At

<sup>2</sup> The figures in brackets correspond with those on the plan Fig. 1.

Durham there is a Norman arched recess in the same place, not mentioned by the writer of the "Rites," because before his time its use had ceased, books having become more numerous, and being provided for elsewhere. Recesses thus placed occur in the twelfth century Cistercian cloisters at Rievaulx and Kirkstall. The remainder of this broad bench probably served for the Abbot's maundy as at Durham, where a wooden form was placed on the stone bench, "betwixt the parlor dour and the church dour."<sup>3</sup> On the opposite or garth side of the walk, the bench in two bays is also very broad, and seems to be arranged for a similar purpose, but this would give more accommodation than would be wanted for the Abbot's maundy. Perhaps the monks also kept their maundy here, although, as we shall see, there is a bench for it in the south walk as at Durham; or perhaps other officers here besides the abbot had their special maundys. The *Custumal* would probably decide the question. On the riser of the bench in the first bay on the garth side is a line of small iron staples, as if to hook up a carpet, or something of the sort, for kneeling upon. There is no bench on the east side south of the Chapter House door.

The first three bays are inside the church, taking the place of the west transept aisle, and they seem to be vaulted in rubble plastered, instead of in regular courses of chalk and Reigate stone like the rest. Under the transept wall is an arch across the cloister, and just north of it, over the point marked + on the plan, is what appears to be a wooden block in the vaulting, pierced with a hole as if for the passage of a cord or chain. The bay next south has only a plain arcade against the wall without cusps or tracery above like the others of the same date. Dart's plan shows a small building in the cloister garth against the bay in which is the stair turret. There is no trace of it now, and I can learn nothing about it. It was probably recent, but may have been old, so I have indicated its position by dotted lines in the plan.

In the central boss of the vaulting opposite the Chapter House entrance (2) is a small iron pulley as for a lamp, and in the jambs of the same entrance are remains of sundry iron hooks and the like, some of which would serve to fix

<sup>3</sup> "Rites," p. 66. The parlour at Revestry at Westminster. Durham corresponded in situation to the  
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the cord or chain of the lamp, but there are more than can be so accounted for. In the "Gleanings,"<sup>4</sup> the pulley is mentioned as formerly existing, but it is there yet, though it requires a favourable light to see it. It is mentioned by the writer of the letterpress to "Ackerman's Westminster Abbey,"<sup>5</sup> whose description of the cloister is the best old one I have seen.

At (3) on the plan is the thirteenth century entrance to the Dorter, which, from the manner in which the early vaulting is broken through, does not appear to occupy the position of the original entrance of 1065.

At (4) is the thirteenth century entrance to the old Treasury, generally called the Chapel of the Pyx, being two bays of the substructure of the Dormitory. I take this apartment to have been the monastic treasury before it became the royal treasury, and possibly afterwards also.

*South Walk.*—At (5) is a plain round arch, probably of the Confessor's work, forming the entrance to the dark cloister, as it is now called. This arch is much lower than the cloister from which it opens, and high up over its east jamb is a stone bracket, apparently of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work, and a little west of the bracket is the oak frame of a blocked up window through which it could be reached. It is evidently intended for a lamp, and on the west side there is a sort of well, as if to intercept spilled oil and prevent it from running down the wall. I shall say more about it when we come to the Dorter.

From this arch (5) there is "a faire long Bench of Stone almost to the Frater-house dour," exactly as described in the same place at Durham, where, according to the "Rites,"<sup>6</sup> it was specially provided for use at the monks' maundy.

At (6) is a modern doorway, leading to Ashburnham House. The lintel is ancient, and has fourteenth century ornament; it appears to have been the head of a locker.

At (7) are four tall niches in the wall, united into one composition by tracery above. This is generally said to have been the Lavatory, but the niches have evidently been towel closets. They have had doors, the positions of the hinges and fastenings of which may be found, and correspond exactly with the description of the towel closets at

<sup>4</sup> "Rites," p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Said in the "Universal Catalogue"

to be William Coombe ("Dr. Syntax").

<sup>6</sup> P. 67.

Durham given by the author of the "Rites,"<sup>7</sup> except that there they appear to have been entirely of wood.

At (8) is the door of the Frater-house.

*West Walk.*—At (9) is the door to the Parlour, and above it, on the wall, just below the vault, are a few mouldering remnants of a picture. All that can now be made out is part of a ribbon, with an inscription in letters of about 1500, which Mr. J. T. Fowler has read with some hesitation "*in fclafclorū. Amen.*" This interesting bit was pointed out to me by Mr. Wright,<sup>8</sup> and is, I believe, all that remains of the pictures which probably once covered the greater part of the walls of the south and west walks. Keepe, whose book was published in 1682, seems to imply that in his time there were more considerable remains of pictures. And he mentions<sup>9</sup> frames of wood for the glazing of the cloisters as remaining then, though glass was gone from them.

Coombe mentions a pulley in the central bay opposite the parlour door; it is now gone, but there are marks in the boss where it was fixed.

In the next bay northwards (10) is a blocked arch, with some ornament above and about it. Inside is seen a narrow chamber containing a cistern, which supplies the Dean's house. But from the vaulting-springers remaining in the two eastern corners, it appears that the chamber was originally wider, and almost square, as is shewn on the plan. It was no doubt the Lavatory, and probably had a round or octagonal laver of stone or marble in the middle. At Durham the Lavatory stood in the middle of the cloister garth, and its marble laver still remains.

We learn from the "Rites,"<sup>1</sup> that at Durham the north part of the west walk was assigned to the novices, whose school was held there. And we have a curious proof that at Westminster this corner was similarly appropriated. In the two bays (11 and 12) of the west walk, and in the bay and a

<sup>7</sup> P. 67. "At the end of the said Bench, betwixt it and the Frater-House dour, there was a faire Almerie joyned in the wall . . . and all the fore part of the said Almeries was thorough carved worke and iij dors in the forepart of either Almerie, and a locke on every doure, and every Monncke had a key for the said Almeries wherein did hinge in every Almerie cleane towels for the Monnokes to drie there hands on when

they washed and went to dynner."

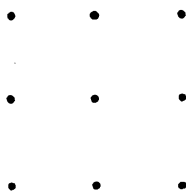
<sup>8</sup> It is mentioned by Coombe and by Brayley. Coombe describes a great deal of colouring, which has now perished (pp. 261-267). In his time (1812) the colouring of Henry the Third's part of the cloister seems to have been singularly perfect, and he has left us a very fair account of it.

<sup>9</sup> P. 177.

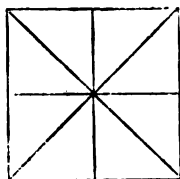
<sup>1</sup> P. 71.



half next east of the west cloister door in the north walk, are sundry sets of nine holes each, arranged thus,—



sometimes with a line joining the central hole with the middle one of one side. These are cut in the stone bench against the wall, and are of various sizes. I have found over thirty similar sets of holes in the south walk at Canterbury, and I have no doubt that they are the work of novices in their idle moods, and were intended to play some game upon. That they are not the work of more recent school boys is shewn at Westminster by their suddenly ceasing just where, as we shall shortly see, the book-cases stood in front of the bench. There is a game still extant amongst street urchins which could be played on these "boards," but now a figure like this,



chalked on the pavement, is used. It is played by two children, each with three pebbles, and bears some resemblance to the *tic-tac-to* of our infancy. Two east-end choir-boys, who showed me how to play it, gave it the name of "*knockings in and out*," and said it was a "girl's game."

At Durham, as described in the "Rites," the novices used the bench on the garth side, and their master that against the wall, and they had wooden seats. At Canterbury, also, there is evidence of a wood casingg havin existed at some time to the same bench on which these holes are found, and it is possible that there was one here in the sixteenth century, which would date the holes back some time before the suppression.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> We learn, from Professor Willis's account of the Monastic buildings at Canterbury (p. 45) that Prior Selling

(1472—94) fitted up the south alley of the cloisters, which there is against the church, with desks and *carrells ad usum*

The sets of holes are probably not so numerous at Westminster as they once were, for part of the bench where they are found has been cut away to make way for a monument, and some stones have been renewed. The garth side has been entirely restored, so that any which may have existed there are gone.

At the north end of the west wall of the cloister (13) is a small door of uncertain date, leading into a small garden belonging to the Deanery, and probably dating back to the days of the Abbots. The east side of this garden is the back of the west walk of the cloister. It has been restored, and has buttresses, which probably represent old ones, but they do not correspond with the divisions of the cloister.

*The North Walk.*—At (14) is the west door from the church to the cloister.

In the two places (15, 15), the bench has originally projected to receive the bases of the vaulting shafts, but it has been cut back flush with the general face of the nosing of the bench. Between these bases are several sets of holes.

The nosing of the wall bench for six feet of the third bay from the west, and in the whole of the fourth and fifth bays, and nearly all the sixth, has been cut away flush with the riser, as if some large pieces of furniture had been placed there (16, 16, 16, 16). These were evidently book-cases, for compare the description of the north walk at Durham in the "Rites"<sup>3</sup>:—"In the north syde of the cloister, from the corner over against the church dour to the corner over againste the Dorter dour, was all fynely glased from the height to the sole,<sup>4</sup> within a litle of the grownd into the cloister garth. And in every wyndowe iij PEWES or CARRELLS, where every one of the old Monks had his carrell severall by himselfe, that when they had dyned, they dyd resorte to that place of the cloister, and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell, all the afternounge unto evensong tyme. This was there exercise every daie. All these pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved wourke

*studiosorum confratrum.* The lining of the inner wall was probably done at the same time; and as the cloister itself was built about 1400, we have the date of the nine holes approximately fixed. Unless the arrangement of the cloister was altered when it was furnished, they were in the monks' portion of it.

<sup>3</sup> P. 70. The meaning is quite clear, though the words are very confused. This confusion is characteristic of the book, and is probably not so much due to the author as to his translators or transcribers.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*: *cill*, still in common use in this sense in Yorkshire.

that gave light in at their carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrells was no greater than from one Stanchell<sup>6</sup> of the windowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries of waynscott all full of *Bookes*, wherein dyd lye as well the old annceyent written Doctors of the Church, as other prophane Authors, with dyverse other holie men's wourks, so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, havinge the librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there carrells."

At Durham, where the buildings have been wretchedly Wyatttised, there remains not a vestige of these arrangements, but at Westminster we have such certain evidence of the existence of the *almeries*, that we may safely infer that of the *carrells*, although the restoration of that side of the cloister walk has taken away those slight evidences which would have proved it. Similarly, the restoration of the outer side of the cloisters all round, desirable as it was architecturally, prevents us from determining with certainty how the openings were glazed. I have, however, no doubt myself, that whatever may have been the case in the thirteenth century, in the fifteenth the weather was entirely excluded.

The bases of the vaulting shafts next east of the bookcases (17, 17) are cut in a way which seems to show that there was a double screen here, or perhaps there were bookcases arranged so as to form a screen, which is, I think, very likely. Beyond this screen to the right (18), are appearances in the wall which seem to indicate a blocked-up locker, but they are rather doubtful. And on the left (19) is a large double locker blocked, and the blocking appears to be ancient. This locker is of the date of the wall (Edw. I.), and may have been an additional book-closet provided, because that on the other side of the church-door (1) had become too small, and blocked up when the larger bookcases were made opposite the carrells. At Ely is a 14th century recess in this position, and it seems to replace a Norman one.

On the responds of the arch, between the north and east walks of the cloister (20, 20,) are marks as of a broad screen or wall, and just west of the arch there has been a low wooden

<sup>6</sup> Mullion.

barrier, with an opening at the north and closed by a falling bar. It is most likely that these two partitions are of different dates, but which is the earlier I cannot say.

#### APARTMENTS UNDER THE DORTER.

Returning to the East Walk of the Cloister, we find on our left a range of bulidings of two stories in a line with the transept of the church, and running southwards for more than a hundred and seventy feet. The upper floor was the Dorter, being one great room, the lower is divided into many separate apartments and passages. Beginning at the north end, the first is the vestibule to the Chapter House, which is the only part of the lower story which has been entirely rebuilt since the Confessor's time. The west part (up to 23 on plan) is under the Dorter, and is very low, and vaulted in two spans. The eastern part is more lofty, and vaulted in one span. On the north of the first half (21), is a door into the Revestry. And on the south (22), is a door leading to the space under the Dorter stairs. It was on this door that the human skin was found, as described in the "Gleanings," p. 50, and, I think, referred to by Mr. Way, although the door is not mentioned, in the tenth volume of the "Archæological Journal," p. 167. In the second part of the vestibule there are windows on the north opening into the Revestry (24), and on the south into the open air (25, 25). I need not describe the Chapter House.

Next to the vestibule of the Chapter House southwards is an imperfect bay of the eleventh century work, in which was inserted a stair to the Dorter in the thirteenth century. The stair is built up independently of the earlier work, the groining of which is broken through. Under and at the side of this stair is the chamber entered from the vestibule (22), in which Sir Gilbert Scott found the store of documents as described in the "Gleanings," p. 51. The private nature of the documents found is quite consistent with the place being part of the monastic treasury, for of the Durham treasury we are told that "many gentlemen sent their evidence to be kept there for safety."<sup>6</sup> But, it appears from Mr. Burt's account of the robbery of the royal treasury in 1303,<sup>7</sup> that at that time it was in the custody of the royal officers. The

<sup>6</sup> "Rites," p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> "Gleanings," pp. 283-290.

strip under the stairs is supposed to have been walled off from the rest after the robbery. But the account quoted by Mr. Burt makes the treasury "below the Chapter House at Westminster," which may indeed be understood of the "Chapel of the Pyx," and the chamber we are now considering, but we should remember that there is a vault literally *under* the Chapter House, which has every appearance of having been intended for a treasury. Both the vault under the Chapter House and the treasury in the cloister appear to have been accessible to the monks in the thirteenth century, for both had altars, the lavatories for which are of that date, and they must have been intended for, at least, occasional use. If the monastic treasury was afterwards moved elsewhere, we do not know where it was. The chapel of the Pyx consists of two complete bays of the Confessor's vault, which, as Sir Gilbert Scott has pointed out,<sup>8</sup> have at one time had a partition wall between them. At the east end of the northern bay is the altar (26) just mentioned, with its thirteenth century lavatory. The date of the altar cannot easily be determined without minute examination, but it has in its slab a sinking for a *sigillum*, which is *circular*, a form, I believe, not found elsewhere, the nearest parallel I know to it being a round super-altar, formerly preserved at St. Alban's, and said to have belonged to St. Augustine of Canterbury. We are scarcely justified in giving a Saxon date to the altar on this account alone. Outside the building immediately behind the altar (27) are the remains of a doorway, probably of the Confessor's time. And at the east end of each bay is a strongly grated window.

The next two bays formed the Common House,<sup>9</sup> which occupies a very usual position. At present it is rather a gloomy apartment, but whilst its old use remained it was fairly well lighted. At the east end of the northern bay (28) are the jambs of a wide 15th cent. window, and the southern bay would receive light from the chapel east of it, which had an end window (30) now blocked, and probably also side windows, although the walls have been so altered that it is impossible to speak with certainty about them. The chapel is of the fifteenth century; the arch opening into

<sup>8</sup> "Gleanings," p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Sharpe always calls the Common House the Fraternity. The old writers used words so loosely that, possibly, this may

have good authority, but I do not remember to have seen the word used in any other sense than that of the "Rites," viz. : *Refectory*, or *Dining Hall*.

it at the west is of the eleventh, and the colouring about it now restored appears to belong to the twelfth. This arch seems to show that an earlier chapel existed. The present chapel has a good wood ceiling, and a lavatory, and the remains of a niche south of the altar (31). The Benedictine Common House as a rule appears to have been a smaller room than the Cistercian, which generally occupies fully half the basement of the Dorter, and was possibly used as a work-room, whilst the Benedictine Common House was only used as described in the "Rites"<sup>1</sup> for warming, and occasional recreation. The Common House at Durham occupied three bays of the vault. The partitions have been destroyed by way of "restoration," but they are shown in Carter's plan. There is a chapel opening eastwards from the end of the Common House at Jervaulx, a Cistercian house.

The three next bays of the basement have probably always been store places as they are now. At Bury St. Edmund's the *lardearium* was in this position in the twelfth century, *indecenter*, as Joceline says, and therefore, it was moved, and the place given over to the chamberlain.<sup>2</sup> These five bays have each a doorway opening from the continuation southward of the east walk of the cloister. The northern door into the Common House (35) is a square headed opening, with nothing visible through the whitewash to enable us to date it. It may be modern. The next (36) is pointed, and may be thirteenth century or later. The next two (38, 38) appear to be modern, but may represent old ones. The last (39) is a flatly elliptical-headed opening with a small oblong light over, and seems to belong to the sixteenth century.

For the length of the Common House (from 5 to 37 on the plan) the passage or dark cloister is vaulted with a plain barrel vault of the earliest date, with a chamber over, opening from the Dorter. The rest of the passage eastwards has a wood and plaster ceiling, and is partly built over with modern buildings. Whether it was originally covered or not is rather doubtful. The wall on the west side appears to be partly old, and that on the east, forming the west side of the Dorter, has been a good deal cut about on the surface, but appears to have had broad flat buttresses, as

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 75 and 84.

Camd. Soc., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> "Chronicon Jocelini de Brakelonda."  
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is usual in Norman work. To the right (40) is a doorway, which is probably old, but is covered with plaster and paint. It would open into a yard or a building between the Frater and the Misericorde. Into the same yard or building was a fourteenth century door from the Frater (70). At the south end of the Dark Cloister is a round arch (41) ranging with the south end of the Dorter, and the south side of the Misericorde, and resembling in form and proportion the eleventh century arches, but with its edges chamfered instead of left square as they are, and having a sort of projecting check as high as the springing, as if for a gate. A few feet southwards is another arch (42), very light and evidently of the sixteenth century, which carries the house above, and like the other has had a gate. It appears from an extract from the chapter books given by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, in a note to his "Westminster Inventories,"<sup>3</sup> that about 1550, considerable alterations were made at this place: "a new waye . . . made owte of the darke entry into the Courte, and the pece of the Pryvey Dorter . . . pullyd downe so moche as . . . necessary for y<sup>e</sup> purpose." A house "callyd Patches House," was also pulled down for the same purpose. It is evident from what remains that the Privey Dorter has been shortened here at its south end, but whether it extended far enough entirely to cut off access to the Dark Cloister from the *Court* (*i.e.* Little Dean's Yard), is not quite certain. If it did, either part of the passage must have been more open above or at the west side than it is now, or the epithet *Dark* must have been very inconveniently appropriate. Patche's House possibly stood south of the Privey Dorter, and at right angles with it in a direct line with the dark cloister. The branch of the old drain seems to indicate the former existence of some domestic building there.

Returning to the basement of the Dorter we find the fourth bay south from the Common House to be different from the rest, and forming a passage from east to west with an arch which appears to be original at each end (50, 50). The roof is barrel-vaulted, and there is a large oblong opening in it (49), which has evidently been made or left for some purpose, which may be recent, but it is possible that this is the site of the eleventh century stairs to the Dorter.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the "Transactions of the Society," Vol. IV.  
London and Middlesex Archaeological

The stair would be carried on two walls, and pass up a "well-hole" in the Dorter floor, just as the thirteenth century stair does. If the original stair was not here, it is not clear where it was. For the cutting about of the vault for the thirteenth century stair shows it to occupy a new site. The change would be made in order to provide a more convenient approach to the Infirmary erected in the twelfth century.

On the south side is a pointed doorway (48), probably thirteenth century, which leads to the next compartment. This also has a barrel-vault, and has been lighted at the east end by a round-headed window (46) of eleventh or early twelfth century date. This window has been built against in later times, but its outside may be seen in the lower story of what is called Litlington's Tower. To the south of this apartment is an eleventh century doorway,<sup>4</sup> opening into a small closet directly over the northern pit of the Privy Dorter. It was probably always a garderobe, as it is now,<sup>5</sup> but may possibly have given access to the very dismal apartment between the two pits; in which case there must have been a second arch in the south wall of the pit; and I have not found evidence of any such on either side of the wall.

We have now reached the end of the basement of the Dorter proper, but there remains for consideration that of the Privy Dorter just referred to. This is a plain Norman barrel-vault, shortened at the south end and divided into two unequal parts by an earlier wall, in which remains part of an eleventh century window (44), described and figured by Mr. Parker in the "Gleanings."<sup>6</sup> The southern division may have received light from its destroyed south end, but the northern can only have had a borrowed light through the little loop just mentioned, and, in fact, would be almost totally dark. I am not sure whether there was any communication between the two divisions, as part of the wall has been built against, but I think there was not. The eastern part is now entered at the north-east corner, and possibly was always so. There is enough resemblance between this chamber and the *Lyingehouse* at Durham, as described in the "Rites"<sup>7</sup> to suggest that it may have been used as the

<sup>4</sup> Figured in the "Gleanings," p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> The flue remains below, but seems not earlier than the twelfth century.

<sup>6</sup> P. 12.

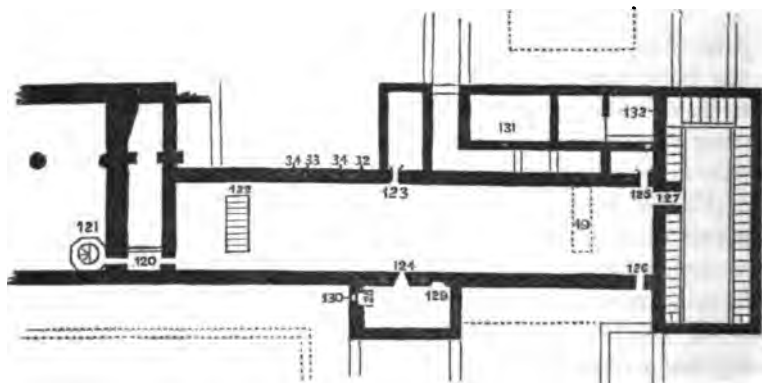
<sup>7</sup> P. 75. The place still exists as a cellar under one of the canons' houses, and is almost exactly the same size as this at Westminster.



monastic prison. At Durham the prison was under the Infirmarer's house, and the prisoner in the custody of the Infirmarer. Here, though not actually under his house, it was conveniently placed for his supervision.

The outside of the south wall of the Privy Dorter basement is now entirely concealed by recent buildings; but a few months ago, in making some alterations at the porch of the School-room,<sup>8</sup> part of it was exposed, and in it was found a round-headed opening (43) two feet high, and the same broad, and something over two feet above the level of Little Dean's Yard. It was rebated for a flap outside, and had marks of the fastening above and below. I did not see it, but from what I can learn, it appears to have been of early date. Its use must have been that of an ash-place or dust-hole for throwing refuse into the pit into which it opens.

#### THE DORTER AND CHAMBERS CONNECTED WITH IT.



The Dorter is now divided into the School-room and the Chapter Library, and extended in length from the Revestry to the present entrance to Little Dean's Yard from the Dark Cloister, being something over 170 feet long. It had access to the church by a stone gallery (120), still remaining across the west end of the Revestry, and a wooden winding stair (121), which formerly stood in the corner of the South Transept, and is shown in Dart's plan. The walled-up doorway to it remains behind the Argyle Monument. The

<sup>8</sup> The school-room is the southern part of the old Dorter and the vestibule to it crosses the site of the Privy Dorter.

thirteenth century entrance to the Dorter from the Cloister was the same as that to the present Library (122). And about the same distance from the south end as this is from the north end is the opening in the vaulting of the basement (49), which I have suggested may mark the site of the original stair. On each side, about half-way in the length of the Dorter, is a door leading to a side chamber (123, 124). And in the same walls, quite at the south end, are two doors, the eastern (125) leading to the first-floor of what is called Litlington's Tower, and the western (126), a small round-headed door, with the alternate voussoirs of chalk and tufa characteristic of the Confessor's work. The last has led into a chamber over the dark cloister, and through that possibly to other chambers at the east end of the *Misericorde*. At the south end of the Dorter must have been the door to the Privey Dorter, and it is represented by the present entrance to the School (127), which corresponds in position with the early archway below (45), and the consequent interruption of the pit. The Dorter has been patched and extensively repaired at many dates, but still has considerable remains of twelfth century work. There is nothing except the door in the corner (126) which can with certainty be pronounced earlier; but this and the basement below are enough to show that the original apartment was of the same dimensions as the later. I have not found anything that proves a separation into many compartments, as at Durham.

The door in the middle of the west side of the Dorter (124) leads to a chamber about 32 feet long by 14 feet broad, and standing over the vaulted part of the Dark Cloister. The west and south sides seem to be entirely modern, but high up, on the north side, are the remains of a tall gable window now truncated and blocked. In the same wall there is a round-headed recess, 7ft. 6in. wide and 2ft. 4in. deep (128), reaching to the floor.<sup>9</sup> This recess backs upon the oak-framed window visible in the cloister (130), and near the bracket, as already described, thus rendering it possible to reach the bracket from the chamber, which but for the recess would have been impossible, owing to the thickness of the wall. In the east wall of the chamber a fireplace (129)

<sup>9</sup> At the back of this recess, at the north-east corner, the wall bulges forward as if to suit a stair in its thickness.

has been inserted late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth; and in its north splay is a small square hole, which shows the existence of a stone "oven" such as we shall shortly have to describe, though all other indications of it are hidden. This chamber evidently belonged to one of the higher officers of the monastery. We learn from the "Rites"<sup>1</sup> that "the Masters and Officers of the House had there severall fyres." And from the way in which this room commands both the Dorter and the cloister, we may assign it, with great probability, to the Sub-prior.<sup>2</sup>

The opposite door (123) in the Dorter leads to a chamber about the same size as the last, which retains a late fifteenth century oak-framed doorway, and a ceiling, but otherwise has been entirely altered, the walls lined, and new windows inserted, apparently about the beginning of the eighteenth century. It stands over the chapel, opening from the Common House, and is a remarkably pretty room.

The door in the corner (125) opens into the first-floor of the building called Litlington's Bell Tower. What the history of that name is, and on what authority the statement that it held a peal of bells early in the last century has been made, I do not know. But I cannot help thinking that some mistake has been made about it. The building is very small,<sup>3</sup> and is built up against on three of its four sides, one, if not two, of the abutting buildings being higher than itself, and it has no appearance of ever having been used for bells. However, whatever may have been its use, its first-floor was connected with the Dorter, and, most likely, with the chambers east of it, thus connecting those chambers also with the Dorter, although they will be more conveniently described together with the Infirmary buildings. The communication between the stories of the "tower" must always have been by wooden stairs or ladders. Its west wall is the east wall of the Dorter, and in it remains one of the twelfth century windows of the latter, and one of the early windows in the basement (46) already described. Just south of this window

<sup>1</sup> P. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Compare "Rites," p. 73. It would be the Sub-prior at Westminster as at Durham, notwithstanding that the presence of an Abbot made the Prior only second in rank. It appears from Mr. Walcott's "Inventory" that the Prior's house at Westminster was not a mere

chamber or *checker*, but had Entry, Kitchen, Buttery, Hall, Parlour, Chapel, and two Chambers, besides a garden. I have been unable satisfactorily to determine its site.

<sup>3</sup> 17' 6" x 10' inside. It is four stories high, with one in the roof.

a doorway has been broken through into the eleventh century vault, which may be mediæval, but there is nothing to prove it.

On the east side of the Dorter, outside, are marks of a good deal of alteration, the meaning of which is not very clear. There is a doorway in the corner (32), leading from the Dorter, next the chamber already described, and two small square-headed windows (34, 34), and a third window (33) which looks as if at some time it had been cut down to serve as a door. These doors imply the existence of a building, a gallery, or perhaps a stair here, of which there is nothing else to tell us. I think they are not earlier than the sixteenth century.

The Privey Dorter, at the south end of the Dorter, was a large room 20 feet wide and 70 feet or more long. It had closets opening from it along each side, and, as it appears, across the east end. I have completed it on the Dorter plan from what remains below, the only uncertain matters being the number of closets and the exact length of the destroyed part westwards. The central room was probably lighted from the west end.

### THE INFIRMARY.

Eastward of the Dorter stood the Infirmary, occupying a usual position, but differing in form from the usual monastic Infirmaries, as we know them, being a small cloister, with the Chapel on the east and ranges of buildings on the other three sides. The difference, however, is not so great as at first sight appears. For although in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries monastic infirmaries were built in the form of large halls, like the nave and aisles of a church, it will, I believe, always be found that in the fourteenth century, or later, the aisles have been cut off, and divided up into separate apartments.<sup>4</sup> At Canterbury and Peterborough the walls filling the arcades have been removed lately, but at Ely they remain, and are, I believe, ancient; and in the Cistercian Infirmaries at Fountains and Kirkstall,<sup>5</sup> although little more

<sup>4</sup> We find the same change to have taken place in hospitals and almshouses for lay folk, as at Chichester and elsewhere. And the later ones take the form of a court, with a number of small houses round it, such as is described above.

<sup>5</sup> These are generally, for want, I suppose, of a better name, called *Abbots' Halls*. But if compared with the Benedictine examples, the use of which is admitted, there can be little doubt that they are infirmaries. They stand in the

than the foundations remain, there are also the foundations of the dividing walls, in which are fireplaces and stairs. From a nave with aisles thus built up to a cloistered court with buildings round it, the step is short.

The earliest part of the Infirmary at Westminster is the chapel dedicated to St. Katherine, the west end of which forms the greatest part of the east side of the court. It is of the middle of the twelfth century, with some later insertions, and consists of a nave of five bays, with aisles and a chancel. It has been suggested that the nave may have been longer, and have been shortened when the court-yard was made, but the arcades end with responds at the west end, so that the additional length must have formed a quite separate hall, as it did at Canterbury. The south arcade has been built up, and part of this alteration is ancient.<sup>6</sup> Of the north arcade only the bases remain, and I have not been able to ascertain whether it had been similarly cut off. The fourteenth century windows at the west ends of the aisles towards the cloister, appear to have belonged to living-rooms rather than to the chapel. The chapel has a fine fourteenth century west door<sup>7</sup> (60), and there have been small side-doors (61, 61) from each of the aisles, the southern leading to the Infirmaryers' Hall, and the northern apparently into a yard.

The arcade of the cloister was built about the end of the seventeenth century, but replaces an earlier one. The inner wall is of the middle of the fourteenth century, and retains many doorways of that date (57, 57) like in form and detail, but varying a good deal in level. The stripping off of recent plaster has brought to light more of these doors, and also contemporary windows (59, 59). It appears that the cloister was surrounded by a number of small separate dwelling-

same position, they are approached in the same way from the cloister, they are similar in form, except that the chapel is separate instead of being under the same roof, and they have been similarly divided in later times. Again, the Infirmary was an important department in a Cistercian as in a Benedictine house; and if this be not it, we can find no other suitable place for it, even at Fountains, where the plan remains practically perfect. Mr. Sharpe's suggestion, that the Infirmary there was one of the detached western buildings in the outer court is quite contrary to the notion of monastic

planning, which is, to place the Infirmary in the most retired position, and the building indicated would be insufficient for the purpose.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Walcott's Inventory mentions *Syde Chappells in Seynt Kateryn's Chappell in the Farmarye*, from which it appears probable that part of the aisles remained unseparated from the chapel. But these chapels may have been one on each side of the entrance to the chancel.

<sup>7</sup> Outside this door, on the north side, low down, is a small locker, now blocked. Perhaps it was for a lamp.

houses, each of two stories, and roofed with long roofs running parallel with the sides of the cloister, being exactly the usual arrangement of an almshouse. The drain at the back of the south range reminds us of those still existing in a similar position at St. Cross, near Winchester. These side-ranges, and especially that on the south side, have, without doubt, much old work embedded in them; but it is only visible towards the cloister. The back walls which I have shown in outline on the plan, exist, and either are, or probably represent, old ones.

The western range of buildings resembled those on the north and south, but was rather wider, and it remains, archæologically, in a very perfect condition. Below it now consists of three divisions. The middle one forms the entrance to the little cloister, and has a fourteenth century arch (52) on the west side, and a doorway (53) on the east. Above is a chamber, which retains its roof of the same date, though it has been a little altered. This roof is a continuation of that on the northern division (56), and before the alterations of the south part, about the year 1500, it has evidently gone on there also. The northern division is now the Song-school, and has had its floor taken out so as to make it all one story. This change seems to have been made early in the seventeenth century, when the original windows were blocked up, and a large gable window, suitable to the altered state of the apartment, was inserted in the north end. The original roof exists above the modern ceiling, which follows its form; and, to tell of the upper floor, there remains a fireplace about the middle of the west wall. The lower story has three doors—one from the cloister (57), one northwards, at the north-east corner towards a small yard, and one westward towards a little one-storied building (51), now destroyed, but the marks of the gabled roof of which remain on the walls. These two doors are later than the other.

On the east side is a modern fireplace, which very likely takes the place of an old one. On the west side and at the north end were long windows, the splays of which remain inside, and part of the end window itself is visible outside. In the east splay of the same window is a small round-headed locker  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide and about the same high, rebated for a shutter. Cut in the bottom is a conical cup 4 in. in

diameter, and the same deep, and from the top is a small flue going up diagonally towards the outside of the wall. This is evidently intended for a light, and reminds us of the "cressets wrought in stone," in the Dorter and at the choir door at Durham, which cressets it was the duty of the cook to keep properly filled with tallow.<sup>8</sup> With such a rough style of night-light the flue would be very desirable, but the use of the shutter is not so evident. Perhaps it was intended to exclude the external air when the light was not burning, or it may have had a glass or horn front like a lantern.

This Song-school with the added chamber behind (51) probably represents one of the largest of the houses in the Infirmary. The stairs and internal partitions were of wood, such as we find evidence of in the curious little houses of the Carthusian Monastery at Mount Grace near Northallerton.

The south end of the western side of the Infirmary cloister has been very much altered in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Originally this seems to have been the earliest part of the cloister, and there remains a small twelfth century window (67) and the rest of the wall on that side appears to be of the thirteenth century, but is covered with plaster. The Norman window lights a small garderobe taken out of the north pit of the Privy Dorter and now entered by a square headed and probably modern doorway in the south east corner of the ground floor room (54). The original entrance seems to have been a now blocked up fourteenth century doorway in the south-west corner, which would give a passage of approach to the garderobe.<sup>9</sup> To the same room a like doorway opens from Litlington's tower. This was probably at one time a two-story building under the same roof as the Song-school, but about 1500 the walls were raised in wood and the place made into a little house of three stories, each less than 8 ft. high, with an attic in the roof, in which state it remained till recently, the general arrangements being, as it appears, unchanged. The alterations now going on to make the place more habitable, have brought to light two fire-places, one on the first and one on the second floor (132,) which are here figured.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "Rites," pp. 19 and 72.

<sup>9</sup> The change would be made when the fireplace in the lowest story was made, and a chimney formed in the space

behind. I think it is recent.

<sup>1</sup> From a drawing kindly lent by Sir Gilbert Scott.

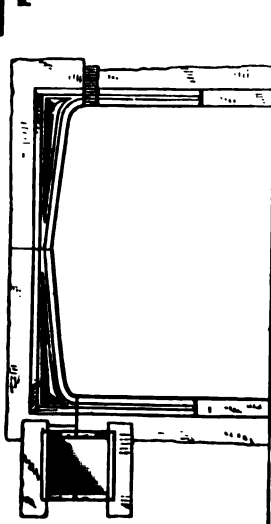




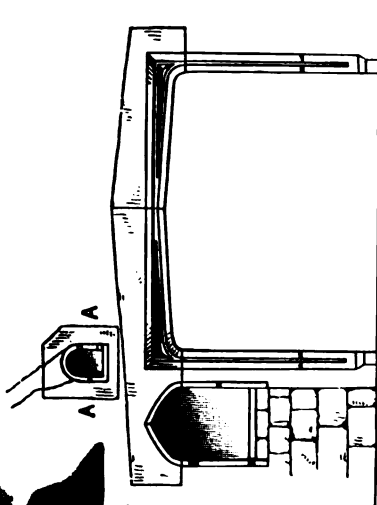


2 1/2\"/>

PLAN A



FIRE PLACE



FIREPLACE



SECTION



PLAN



PLAN

SCALE OF 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 FEET

The fire-place itself is of ordinary type, but on its left side it has the unusual addition of a sort of stone oven. In the jamb of the fire-place is a square hole leading to a cell under the floor of the oven, into which embers might be introduced, but so far as I can see, there is no flue through which a draught could be created. The floor of the oven has been laid with tiles, and both it and the stoking hole have had shutters, I suppose of iron. The tile floor of the upper oven appears to be an insertion a few inches above the original floor, which has had a round opening with a large rebate as if to receive a moveable lid of tile or iron. Above the left jamb of the fire-place is a hole with a "cresset" like that in the Song-school. The room below has a similar oven, but no light-hole,<sup>2</sup> and as already mentioned, the fire-place in what I have called the Sub-prior's Chamber, has the stoking hole which shows that there is an oven there also, though it is now covered up. The use of these ovens is not very clear. They can scarcely have been made hot enough for cooking, and ought rather to be called hot closets than ovens. It is doubtful whether the two chambers towards the Little Cloister, should be regarded as belonging to the Infirmary or to the Dorter, for they are now entered, and may always have been, from the first floor of Litlington's tower, which was itself entered from the Dorter. If they belonged to the Infirmary it may be that they were the sick men's chambers,<sup>3</sup> and that the hot closets were to keep warm drinks and the like for the use of the patients. But the rooms appear very small for this use. The only other suggestion I have to make is the rather wild one that these were *checkers*. We knew from the "Rites" the officers had fires in their checkers, and that some had their dinners served there. It is just possible that at Westminster a man whose dinner was so served had a hot closet to keep it warm till he was ready to eat it, or to keep a second course warm whilst he was disposing of the first. This would explain that in the Subprior's Chamber, but at Durham the Subprior dined at the common table.<sup>4</sup>

On the east side of the Little Cloister north of the chapel

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps there may be one, but if so, it is hidden by the timbers of the new floor, which cuts across just above the fireplace.

<sup>3</sup> Which, as appears from Mr. Walcott's "Inventory," were two in number.

<sup>4</sup> "Rites," p. 78.

has been another house (63) like the Song-school, but rather larger. Two late fire-places remain, and on the east side the jamb of a window larger and later than those which face the cloister. A squint cut through this jamb, and commanding the door to the cloister, shows that a still later apartment has existed eastwards, which is also proved by the corbels as for a roof remaining in the precinct wall. Mr. Walcott, in a note to the "Inventories," makes this the Prior's house, which is possible, but it requires more evidence than the remains afford. That this and the Song-school were the houses of two of the obedientaries is exceedingly likely, but we cannot pretend to name them positively without documentary evidence. We may, however, with less hesitation ascribe the buildings south of the chapel to the Master of the Infirmary. The hall remains in very perfect condition (65), except that its roof has been shortened at the north end, where it extended over the aisle of the chapel as far as the arcade wall.<sup>5</sup> At this end was an upper room or gallery with a fire-place which remains, and the aisle below seems to have belonged to the same house. The small houses north and south of the Infirmary Cloister may have been occupied by the *sempectæ* or *seniores* of the convent.

There does not appear to have been a special Infirmary kitchen as there was at Canterbury: perhaps the great kitchen served the whole house as it did at Durham.

There is a passage (66) to the garden in continuation of the east walk of the cloister, which is ancient, and has a contemporary doorway at the south end.<sup>6</sup> And there may have been another from the east walk through a doorway, which appears to exist under the plaster at the south-west corner (58).

It is said that some years ago remains of baths were found east of the Infirmary's Hall (64), and it would be interesting to know more about them, but I have not been able to obtain any definite information.

#### THE FRATER.

The plan of the Frater can be made out with certainty for the whole length of the south side of the cloister. The

<sup>5</sup> See description by Sir Gilbert Scott in "Gleanings," p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> On the east side of this passage is a

late doorway towards the hall blocked up.

north wall remains entire up to the cornice,<sup>7</sup> with the eleventh century arcade below, and fourteenth century windows above. The width is given by part of the south wall still standing with remains of the same arcade (68). The east end is the west wall of the dark cloister and chamber over, and at this end the early arcade is replaced by one of the date of the windows. The position of the west end is not so easy to determine. There is now a wall (72) in line with the west wall of the cloister, but the wall is modern, and built up out of old fragments. It stands, however, where we should expect to find the end of the Frater, which would thus be over 130 feet long, and, it would seem, quite large enough for any possible requirement; but the remains of corbels in the north wall show that the roof went on westwards for thirty feet or more without break, and a corresponding wall on the south side (73) exists, and seems to be old. This extension westwards is now covered with buildings, and the exact position of the end wall does not appear to be certain. It looks very much as if there had been an arrangement here such as existed at Durham, where, the west end of the Frater, there was a deep gallery called the *Lofte*,<sup>8</sup> large enough to be the ordinary dining-place of the monks, and under the gallery was the cellar. The *Lofte* at Durham seems to have served the purposes of the *Misericorde*, and the existence of a *Misericorde* elsewhere at Westminster is against that of a *Lofte* in the Frater. Professor Willis placed the *Deportum*, which seems to have been the Canterbury name for the *Misericorde*, at the end of the Frater thus, but makes it a separate apartment.

The floor of the Frater was rather lower than that of the cloister, and opposite the door is the Frater Hole, a wide round fourteenth century arch, filled in later, and formed into two hatches, with shutters. At the east end of the Frater remains one jamb (70) of a fourteenth century door, which has led to a yard or building parallel to the dark cloister.

### THE PARLOUR.

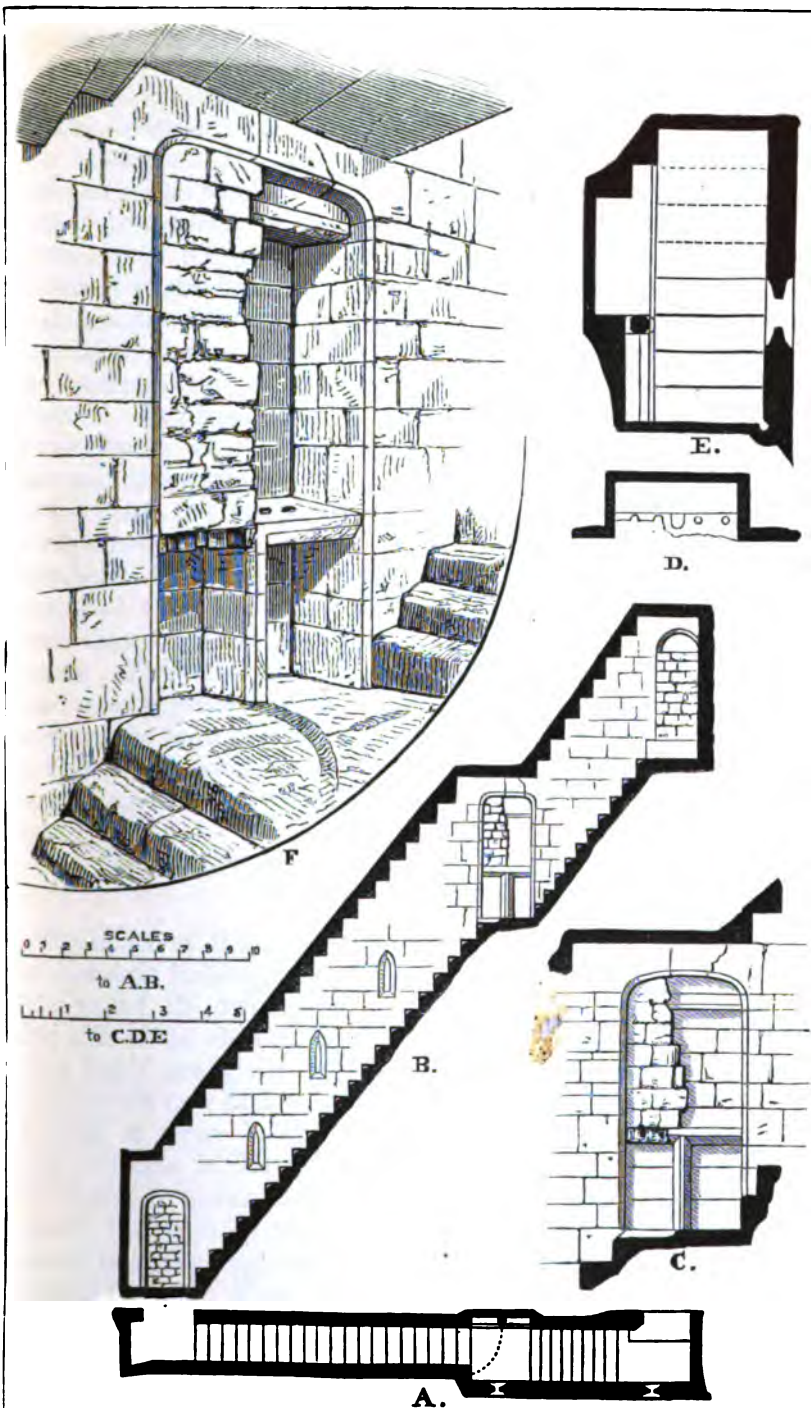
The passage from Dean's Yard to the cloister is divided into two parts of about equal length. The outer belongs to

<sup>7</sup> "Gleanings," Plate XXX.

<sup>8</sup> P. 73.

the entrance tower, which is common to the Abbot's House and the cloister. The inner is evidently the *Parler* of the *Rites*, "a place for marchaunts to utter ther waires."<sup>9</sup> It has a door towards the cloister (9), already described, and another (84) towards the entrance. At present it receives light chiefly from the doors, but originally it had three windows, on the north a borrowed light from the Lavatory (80), and a window (81) which may have opened upon an open area in the Abbot's House, or may also have been a borrowed light; the third (82) has looked into the Frater. The last is the only one now open, and under it is a modern door, which may represent an old one, but does not appear to do so. These windows occupy three of the four side arches of the vaulting, and in the fourth is a small obtusely arched door (83), only about 3 ft. 9 in. high, blocked up flush with the face of the wall, and east of it are small loops, also blocked, rising as if to light a stair. The top of the stair is indicated by a blocked door towards the leads of the cloister over the Frater door, opposite which door there is a larger loop towards the south which is still open. Some time ago Mr. King, of Sir Gilbert Scott's office, got in at this upper loop, and gave such an account of the interior that, when preparing this paper, I was desirous, if possible, to obtain a full description of it. Unfortunately, the hole is too small for me to get in myself. But Mr. Somers Clarke volunteered to do it, and made drawings of the place, which are here reproduced.

Beginning at the bottom, there is a very steep flight of twenty-one steps, with the three loops from the Parlour on the left. Then there is a landing, above which another steep flight of nine steps leads to the upper doorway and loop. The curiosity of the place is in the middle landing, on the north of which is a recess resembling a doorway. It has a lintel cut to an elliptical form, like those of the doors, and six inches further in is a flat lintel. The lower part of this recess has a kind of stone bench all across, with an upright support in the middle underneath, and each division of the bench is pierced with two round holes  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. The upper part of the recess has been blocked, and part of the bench is broken away. Opposite is a win-



Domestic buildings, Westminster Abbey.—Staircase from Parlour.

A. B. General plan and section; C. D. Elevation and plan of recess on landing; E. Section through landing; F. Sketch of recess.



dow or hatch fifteen inches wide, and very much decayed. It looks towards the Frater or its gallery, and is now blocked with brickwork. When open it would have lighted the recess with the bench. From the foot of the central support of the bench, there starts a grove or chase, which curves across the passage to the opposite side, where it is continued to the bottom, being partly in the wall and partly in the steps. The steps are in chalk, and are very much worn below the landing, but comparatively little above. All the openings, except the one loop at the top, have been blocked. At present I am quite unable to explain the use of this place. It is evident, from the condition of the steps, that something or other was done pretty frequently on the landing; and the small size of the lower door suggests that it was done by boys: the upper flight of steps was probably intended only to give access to the leads of the cloister for occasional cleaning and repairs. The four holes on the bench may have been stands for some cup-shaped or conical vessels. The chase may have contained a water-pipe. If there were a gallery at the end of the Frater, and if it could be shown to have been used like the Durham *Lofte* for dining in, I should suspect this to have something to do either with the serving there or with the removal of the alms of broken meat.<sup>1</sup>

### THE ABBOT'S HOUSE.

The house of the Abbots is amongst the most perfect of the monastic buildings remaining. It was a large mansion, built round its own court, and covering the whole of the west side of the cloister, over part of which it extended. Its exact limits are given in the grant of buildings from the Crown to the new Bishop of Westminster in 1541,<sup>2</sup> an abstract of which is given in the "Gleanings," pp. 221-225, and a long quotation in Mr. Walcott's notes to the "Inventories." The entrance tower and the room over the parlour just described belonged to the Abbot, and it is very likely, as I believe has been suggested by Mr. Walcott, that this was the Abbot's Chapel. From the entrance tower we approach the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the COVER at Durham, "Rites," p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Many measurements are given, which

agree with the existing remains, and enable us thus to identify the buildings.



court of the house by a short passage (88) vaulted in two bays, and having had doors at both ends, but no means of obtaining light except through them. On the south side of the court is an ancient wall too much altered to give any certain indication of date, but probably Islip's work. Within is a plain room (89) not vaulted, which has a door from the court, and windows, now restored or regothicised, looking south. This was possibly the buttery. In the corner is the kitchen (90), which is, no doubt, the old one, although restored about the end of the sixteenth century, to which date belong the large brick-arched fireplaces.<sup>3</sup> It is entered from the court by a passage (91) on its own level, on the left of which is the kitchen-door, and an Elizabethan serving hatch (92), and on the right are the stairs to the hall (93), between which and the passage is a little pantry. The walls of the hall are of Litlington's date. The wood-work, both of the roof and fittings, is a mixture of that date and later. I imagine that the hall had been allowed to fall into decay<sup>4</sup> after the suppression, and was afterwards repaired and put into its present form, probably by Dean Goodman, who attempted to introduce a common table and something like collegiate discipline amongst the staff of the church.

A small door near the east end of the high table leads to a lobby (94),<sup>5</sup> from which open doors on the west to the well-known *Jerusalem Chamber* (96), and on the east to a room (97), on the north side of the Abbot's Courtyard, called the *Jericho Parlour*. The Jerusalem Chamber is the old *withdrawing* room, and is of the same date as the Hall, and like it has been altered, but later than the other. Just outside the door on the south is a niche in the wall, very like the lavatory of an altar, and probably intended for a lamp. It does not appear to have had a flue, but the top is scooped out inside into a sort of inverted funnel, as if to collect as much as possible of the soot from the smoke before it escaped from the niche. The Hall and Jerusalem Chamber are raised on

<sup>3</sup> There is a wonderful representation of this kitchen in the "Gleanings," p. 208, with massive *stone* arches, and a man in tights sitting in the corner, all complete, as the artist, no doubt, thought it ought to be. It is a pity that men who draw the illustrations to archaeological works, will not always show things as they are, instead of so often looking at them

through Gothic spectacles.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it may have had the lead stolen. It looks like it; and the one bishop was an adept at that kind of "reformation."

<sup>5</sup> Under the window of this lobby, towards the court, has been a door into the basement.

a low basement story not vaulted, and the Hall is approached from the court by a seventeenth century stair and pentice, which is shown, by the form of the window near, to be a continuation of the original arrangement. It appears from the grant to the Bishop that westwards of these buildings was the Abbot's garden, and the measurements given show it to have extended as far as the gateway to the *Elms*, a court now the northern half of Dean's Yard. There was, very likely, a door to the Abbot's garden from his Hall opposite that to the court, but I have not found it.

The north side of the Abbot's court is of Islip's time. It also has a low unvaulted basement, and there are two stories over. The Jericho Parlour has very ornate oak wall-linings of the same date, and there is a good deal of old wood-work about. East of the Jericho Parlour is another room (98), now made into an entrance lobby, and with a door from the court, which may represent an old one, but does not show it in any way. From this room there are ways to the south aisle of the church, and to the chapel under the south tower, and to a wood gallery in the south aisle. This gallery is so placed that it can scarcely have been intended for the Abbot's *closet* or private pew; and I think it may have served for the singing of the *Gloria, Laus, et Honor*, on Palm Sunday. There are windows at the east end of Islip's building in both stories towards the little garden next the cloister.

The east side of the court is so plastered outside and altered inside that nothing ancient appears. It is now the Deanery, and extends over part of the west walk of the cloister, as it did in the days of the Abbots.<sup>6</sup> This part is, I believe, of the time of Henry VIII., and it is probable that a good deal more old work, especially wood construction, remains concealed from view.

#### BUILDINGS TOWARDS DEAN'S YARD.

All along the side of Dean's Yard, are remains of fourteenth century buildings, more or less complete. They are now houses, and have necessarily been and continue to be from time to time very much altered. This is perfectly legitimate, for so long as a building continues in use it must be

<sup>6</sup> The grant to the Bishop includes the fourth part of the great cloister, and the  
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buildings situate, and being above the same.—“Gleanings,” p. 223.

made to suit the wants of its users, and if no wanton destruction of old work takes place, the antiquary has no right to complain, and here, of late years at least, the ancient remains have been reverently cared for. But, although I believe the general opinion is against me, I cannot help thinking that it is wrong in treating works of this sort to imitate in modern alterations and additions, the style and architectural treatment of the old. The result of this system is that the antiquary is often puzzled to know whether he is looking at a restoration of an ancient feature, or upon an entirely modern one, to which a mistaken reverence for antiquity has given the form of a sham antique. And, of course, the more accomplished is the architect the more complete is the deception.

The uses of this range of buildings is not now known, though no doubt it will be cleared up some day. I suppose the northern part, if not the whole, to have been the Cellarer's offices and his *hospicium*, as at Canterbury,<sup>7</sup> in a somewhat similar position with respect to the cloister and the kitchen. But as nearly every monastic outbuilding, from a granary to a Guest-house, took the form of a vaulted cellar below and a long chamber above, it is very unsafe to guess at uses without the guidance of documents. The grant to the Bishop gives us two names which we can fix with certainty, but unfortunately they are of the fantastical sort, which gives no clue to the uses of the buildings.

On the upper story of the gate-house over the entrance (87), is a large pointed window, flanked by niches, which is a restoration of the old. Inside the entry are two modern doors to the south (85, 85), which most likely represent old ones. One leads to a slype or passage (100), into the kitchen-yard between the end of the Frater and the *Calberge*; and the other, to a narrow space (86), between the wall of the entry and the outer wall of the tower. Here was, no doubt, a stair; but whether it led to the upper room of the tower or to that of the *Calberge*, or to both, is not clear.

<sup>7</sup> Besides his many and various store-rooms, the cellarer provided living and sleeping accommodation for the guests, and also for nearly all the servants of the Abbey. These required very extensive buildings, and it may well be that the whole east side of Dean's-yard was

taken up by them. Allowing for the different *status* of the Cistercian *Conversi* from the servants of a Benedictine house, Mr. Sharpe's *Domus Conversorum* is the same building, and, unless I mistake, the end of it away from the church was the guest-house.

The grant to the Bishop calls the building south of the entrance tower (99) the *Calberge*, a word which I have not found satisfactorily explained. I have heard the place called "The Chequers," but whether the name is traditional or supplied by some recent antiquary I cannot learn. It is, however, very likely that the Cellarer's checker and perhaps some others were here. The building has a vaulted basement, the floor of which is somewhat below the ground level. The vaulting is plain, but has good carved bosses. It is in five bays, now divided into many rooms, and each bay appears to have been lighted on the west side by two small strongly-barred windows, a few of which remain outside, and several more of the inner arches inside. A door remains on the east side (100). And at the south end are remains of a door (103), and a window (101), the former opening into the tower (102). This tower is called the *Black Stole Tower*<sup>8</sup> in the Bishop's grant, and formed the entrance into the kitchen yard. It is three stories high, and the most perfect of the buildings in this range. Part of the roof of the upper story of the *Calberge* remains. It is low-pitched, and quite plain.

The next building (104), has been of two stories, somewhat taller than the *Calberge*. The front is old, but with modern windows and doors inserted. I do not know of anything old inside. This may have been the Cellarer's hall. South of it is a large entrance-tower three stories high (105), restored, except in the lower story, which is vaulted in two bays, and in the western bay is a blocked doorway towards the south (106), which would have led to the building (107). This has a modernised front in which no old is visible, but the substance of the wall is old. The back, (108) and end (109) walls appear to remain, although they are now made internal, and of course plastered. In the back is an old doorway (109), now made into a cupboard. According to the analogy of Canterbury this building would be the Guest House. The next (110) is rather set back from the line of the others, and appears entirely modern, except that there is a large mass inside, which suggests an old

<sup>8</sup> There has been some confusion about the use of this name, which is sometimes given to the larger tower at the entrance to Little Dean's Yard. But

the grant gives the distance from the entrance tower to the Black Stole Tower as 88 feet, which conclusively proves it to have been the more northern of the two.

chimney. Beyond this and coming forward to the former line, is an old wall (111), in which are two blocked-up two-light fourteenth century windows. This wall runs on to the corner through the modern gate into Dean's Yard, where it joins the precinct wall.

#### THE KITCHEN.

The exact site of the kitchen and its dependent offices, is not yet ascertained. They must have been in the space (74) east of the Cellarer's buildings, south of the Frater, and west of the end of the Misericorde (76). This space is now thickly covered with buildings, in which no doubt there is old work remaining to be discovered. The kitchen has not opened directly into the Frater, for on the outside of the wall of the latter near the Frater-hole, are two attached pillars remaining, showing that there has been a vaulted passage between them, which is indeed what we should expect. There is a Norman wall (75) running from the south side of the Frater to the corner of the Misericorde, in which wall are two round-headed windows, high up, which show it to have been the east side of a building, but I think not of the kitchen. It may have been the larder. The kitchen was very likely a massive stone structure, like those which remain complete at Durham and Glastonbury, and in part at Canterbury and Ely; and was pulled down at the suppression, because it could not easily be adapted to the purposes of a dwelling-house. The wall towards Little Dean's Yard (79) is of the last century, but doubtful indications of old work appear in places, and from them and the way in which it follows the line of the old sewer, I think that the western part at least is on old foundations, and was the wall of the kitchen-yard.

#### THE MISERICORDE.

The grant to the Bishop enables us to identify the range of buildings south of and parallel with the Frater, as the Misericorde. Its west gable towards the kitchen-yard remains, forming part of the end of Ashburnham House, and the side walls may be traced through the house as far as the Dark Cloister. In the gable wall are the remains of two square-headed windows high up, which look like insertions.

In the north wall towards the west end (77) are a doorway and a small window which may be of the thirteenth century. The Misericorde seems to have been the western part of the range, and was probably a long hall without any chamber over. The eastern part against and partly over the Dark Cloister, contains work of many dates, and has evidently been often altered. I have not been able to make out the original form or intention of the buildings, but I have put down on the plan such old work as I have been able to get at, for the knowledge of most of which I am indebted to Mr. H. F. Turler. There are other walls which may be old, and their exposure would probably explain what is now a puzzle. At (76) is a pointed doorway blocked, which, so far as one can judge from the small portion visible, may be as early as Litlington's time. This doorway fronts westward, and leads to a small apartment, the east, south, and west sides of which seem to be ancient. On the outside of its south wall is the base of a buttress, which appears to have been external at one time. At (78, 78) are two doorways facing outwards in each case. That to the south appears to be of the fourteenth century, and the other of the sixteenth. Both retain sixteenth century doors. This part of the building seems to have been of two, if not of three stories. There is now a 16th century fireplace in a room on the second floor, but I think it is later than the suppression. The first floor extends over the Dark Cloister, and formerly communicated with the Dorter by the early doorway in the south-west corner.

It is said to be the intention of the School authorities to pull down Ashburnham House, and build a chapel in its place. This would be a very great loss; for, besides the monastic remains imbedded in it, Ashburnham House is itself an exceedingly good example of old English domestic architecture. If a chapel be really wanted, would it not be possible to rebuild St. Katherine's, the mouldering ruins of which must soon perish entirely unless in some way they are protected from the weather?

#### THE GARDEN-WALL, ETC.

The garden-wall built by Abbot Litlington (112, 112) remains, with only one break, from its commencement at the

south-east corner of Dean's Yard all the way to the east side of the Chapter House, where it stops suddenly, having possibly been broken into when the Lady Chapel was rebuilt and enlarged by Henry VII. The wall has been heightened, and is perfectly plain. There is a walled-up postern doorway on the east side (113), near the Infirmary. The rest of the precinct boundary, with all the buildings of the outer court, have gone, and it is not within the task I have set myself, to describe them ; but in the plan, I have set down in outline the position of the gate-house,<sup>9</sup> from Sandford's plan, and I have dotted in, conjecturally, the sites of the buildings south of the *Elms*, from the description given of them in the grant to the Bishop, aided by the woodcut of Mr. Walcott's old map given in the "Gleanings," p. 224. They were a barn, farm-buildings, and the like ; but our information does not enable us to distinguish them.

#### THE ANCIENT DRAINAGE.

I am fortunately able to lay down on my plan a considerable part of the ancient drainage system of the Abbey. A very small portion of this is now accessible ;<sup>1</sup> but in 1849 a survey of the drains was made, which was very complete so far as it went, and a plan was drawn, for the use of a copy of which I have to thank Mr. Wright. That this survey did not include all the ancient drains, is shown by some part of that which is now accessible being omitted, and I have therefore ventured in one case to show, by a dotted line, a drain for the existence of which I have no authority but its probability.

The sewer, as examined, began just outside the entrance to Little Dean's Yard, and passed out of the precinct, under the garden-wall, at a point in a line with the south side of the Jewel Tower, which was probably served by the continuation of it. Between these points there are many ramifications.

<sup>9</sup> Just inside the great gate was, on the south, the gate of the *Elms*, which was a little north of the present gate into Dean's Yard, where the Crimean monument now stands. Inside were the Almonries and Alms-houses, as seems to have been usual in great abbeya. From what is said in the "Rites" about the

*children of the Almetry and Farmery for four old women* (pp. 77, 78), it appears that these parasitic foundations were a sort of consequence and regulation of the monastic dole.

<sup>1</sup> From 67 to about 78 on the plan ; on which the drain is shown by a thin blue line.

At the time of the survey there was a deep deposit throughout the length of the sewer, and the fall was from east to west, or away from the river, and the ancient bottom is three inches lower at the west end than at the east. But as between these two points there are falls both ways, alternating in a very irregular manner, and for a great part of its length the bottom is a foot lower than it is at either end, I can see no sufficient reason for doubting that the flow was intended to be in the more natural way—from west to east, towards the river. It is probable that there was here the arrangement, which the old men seem always to have preferred where they could get it, of a running stream diverted through the sewers, and so keeping them constantly flushed. Here there was the mill-stream, which ran along the southern precinct of the Abbey, a portion of which could easily have been diverted. The irregular form of the bottom would make a considerable stream necessary to keep the sewers in tolerable order, and it is not unlikely that some part of them was originally open.

The known part of the sewer begins, as I have said, at the gate of Little Dean's Yard, after passing which it skirts the wall of the old kitchen yard. It is probable that here was a short branch to serve the kitchen and its offices. Further eastward the sewer forks into two so as to pass through both sides of the Privy Dorter, just west of which is a cross drain joining the two branches, the purpose of which is not clear. The southern branch in its way through the Privy Dorter, receives a drain from the south, which I have referred to before as marking the site of a house; and at the east end of the same building is a cross drain joining the two branches, and which probably served a return row of garderobes, as shown on the upper plan. Thence the south branch passes at the back of the south buildings of the Infirmary, which may have had offices built over it as at St. Cross, and goes on in a straight line to the precinct wall, and formerly, no doubt, past the Jewel Tower into the river. The northern branch having passed the Privy Dorter, turns at right angles to the north along the west walk of the Infirmary Cloister, through the north range of buildings, and past the east end of the chapel opening from the Common House, beyond which it stops suddenly close to the Chapter House. Whether this ever went further is



perhaps doubtful, but there was very probably a branch along the north side of the Infirmary buildings, and serving them, and then either joining the southern branch or passing on directly to the river.

This system is so far complete that it serves all the offices and buildings which appear to require it.

The short and imperfect sketch which I have been able to give shows how much still remains to reward searchers amongst these buildings. Another paper has to be written applying the evidence existing in writing to the remnants of the fabric. This I hope some day to do, unless some one will be good enough to do it before me. There is indeed work for a special Society here, and I should rejoice to see a *Westminster Society* formed, with the sole object of thoroughly investigating the buildings, and printing every document concerning them.



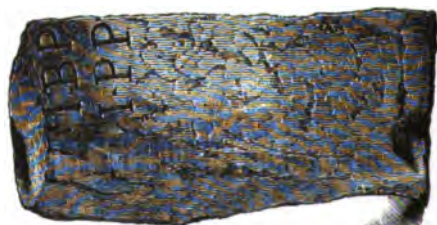


Left (proper).



Full front.

Roman Mile-stone found near Burton.



Right (proper).

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ROMAN STATIONS "NAVIO"  
AND "AQUAE," WITH REMARKS UPON OTHER ROMAN  
STATIONS IN DERBYSHIRE.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.

IN the chief writings of the Roman period concerning English topography, which are at present extant, the names of none of the towns or stations existing at that epoch in Derbyshire appear (as far as can be ascertained) to be included. This also is the case in a few other counties. The "Geography" of Ptolemy, the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, and the "Notitia Imperii," are all silent on the subject, and we have, therefore, solely the "Chorography" of Ravennas to depend upon for any information concerning them. The author of this work (the date of which is uncertain, but which is probably of the sixth century) names between *Deva* (Chester) and *Ratae* (Leicester) the following stations,—"*Veratino, Lutudarum, Derbentione, Salinis, Condate.*" Between *Lindum Colonia* (Lincoln) and *Mantio* (Manchester) he names the following,—"*Banovallum, Navione, Aquis, Arnemeza, Zerdotalia.*"

Of those in the first series, *Salinae* and *Condate* are certainly not in Derbyshire, but, as has been generally thought at Northwich and Kinderton respectively. *Veratinum* has generally been placed, though upon no other evidence than the etymology of Warrington, at Wilderspool, near that town, where there are undoubted remains of a Roman station. To the remaining two, a clue was obtained during the last century by the discovery of several pigs of lead near Matlock, bearing inscriptions, amongst which were the abbreviations, MET. LVT., and in one case, METAL. LVTVD. From these data subsequent antiquaries, amongst whom are the Rev. D. Lysons, Sir H. Ellis, Mr. Bateman, and Mr. Albert Way, have considered that Chesterfield (Derbyshire) was probably the *Lutudae* of Ravennas. This town is situated on the Roman Ryknield Street, and its name almost sug-

gests the certainty of a Roman post of some nature having existed, but, beyond a few coins, no remains are known to have been found there. I am inclined to think that this station was nearer to Cromford and Matlock, and more in the mining districts round Wirksworth. The name, *Lutudae*, is generally believed to mean "lead mines,"<sup>1</sup> and Wirksworth represents the centre of a district abounding in them. All the pigs of lead above referred to were found within five miles of Wirksworth, while Chesterfield is, as the crow flies, at least eleven miles distant, with no known traces of any Roman road between the two places. I think my opinion is further confirmed by the fact that at Hopton, about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Wirksworth, a fragment of an inscribed Roman stone (probably part of a sepulchral monument) was found in the last century. The inscription was as follows:—

. . . . .  
 GELL  
 PRAE CO III  
 LV. BRIT

The stone was found covering a funereal urn in a tumulus; the urn containing burnt bones, ashes, &c. The vestiges of an intrenchment were in the immediate neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> In connection with the last line of this inscription, it must be mentioned that two of the pigs of lead before named, bore the abbreviations LVT. BR., and BRIT. LVT. As the pigs, however, might be carried to some distance from their place of manufacture, the stone which would hardly be transferred to any distance is interesting, as showing the locality, from whence the pigs originally came. Again, the other station immediately preceding *Lutudae* in this series, *Derbentio*, seems from its etymology to have been close to the modern town of Derby (about a mile distant from it), where, at Little Chester, the remains of a considerable Roman station lie buried beneath the surface. The distance of Hopton from Little Chester is about fourteen miles, and it lies on the Roman road from the latter place to Buxton. The distance of Chesterfield from Little Chester is also about the same, and the Rykniel Street connects the two stations.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. McCaul, in "Brit. Rom. Inscr.," pp. 38—47, has treated most elaborately

of this subject.

<sup>2</sup> "Archaeologia," vol. xii., pp. 1 to 5.

Up to some twelve years ago, this was the only *evidence* as to the names of the Roman stations in Derbyshire, although it was strongly suspected that the *Aquae* of Ravennas (and this brings us into the second series of towns I have selected) was situated at Buxton, the latter being the only site to which the term, "the waters," would apply.

But in the year 1862, there was found, in the immediate vicinity of Buxton, and to the south-east of that town, a portion of a Roman milliary or milestone, bearing an important inscription. It was first published by Mr. Jewitt in the "Reliquary," vol. iii., p. 207, and subsequently in "Black's Guide to Buxton." Professor Hübner, in his "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," vol. vii., No. 1,168, also gives this inscription. The readings of these gentlemen vary, as follows :—

Mr. Jewitt.  
IPBPOT COS II  
EPANAVICAE . . I  
M. P. X.

Dr. Hübner.  
. . OT . C . .  
RANNIC . .  
MP. X

My friend, the late Mr. James Yates, F.R.S., who also saw the stone soon after its discovery, informed me that all he could read *with certainty* was—

OT  
PANAV  
M.P.X.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, in a note appended to Mr. Jewitt's paper in the "Reliquary," makes some remarks on the inscription which to me seem rather extraordinary. The first line he reads as TR. POT. COS. II., and says, "The word *Cæsar* seems to have stood at the end of the middle line, and if so we must look for two names. That of the Emperor there is no hope of recovering (unless you find the other portion of the stone) and that of the Cæsar would, of course, be in the remaining middle line. But the word *Annius*, which there seems prominent could only, so far as my memory serves me, apply to Marcus Aurelius, when as Annus Verus, he was adopted by Antoninus Pius. . . . I throw out another suggestion, the letter immediately preceding is P, we then get PANNIC or PANNIO. Now you

will, on reference to the stone itself, see if it be likely that we here get letters representing the name of the station *Pennocrucium* of the second *iter* of Antoninus. If so, the preceding letter or letters would be A or A B, most probably the former," &c.

It will be seen that Dr. Hübner and Mr. Roach Smith unaccountably overlook the fact that the second N which they give is a ligulate AV, and recognised as such by Mr. Jewitt and Mr. Yates. Had Mr. Roach Smith noticed this, he would, with the other emendation he suggested of o for c, have arrived nearer the truth, as he would then have had the letters—

PANAVIO.

My idea of the inscription when I first saw it engraved was, that we had in the second line for a certainty the words A. NAVIO, and I further felt almost sure that the letters preceding A in the same line were P.P. following COS . ., and standing as they generally do in that position for *patri patriae*. The remainder of the line after o I took to be NE, and I thus made the whole line to read—

P.P.A.NAVIONE.

In order to obtain a confirmation of my view, I endeavoured to procure access to the stone, but unfortunately its whereabouts is not known. Immediately after its discovery, it became the property of Mr. J. C. Bates, editor of the "Buxton Advertiser." This gentleman informed me, that, despairing of ever seeing a local museum formed at Buxton, he sold it to a Mr. Wright of Derby. I have reason to believe that this gentleman is dead, and a collection of antiquities which he had formed, dispersed. What became of the stone is unknown.

Fortunately, whilst the stone was in the possession of Mr. Bates, Robert Hutchison, Esq., of Carlowrie Castle, Edinburgh, had three photographs of it taken, one the full front, the others side views, and I am indebted to his courtesy in sending me these for inspection, and thereby supplying the accompanying illustrations. Mr. Hutchison had also a cast of the stone taken, which is now at Edinburgh.

The result of a minute examination of the photographs is, that the letters remaining most unmistakeably are—

IBPOTC°S  
I.P.P.ANAVIONE  
M. P. X.

The A and V and the N and E of the second line being ligulate thus—*AV* and *Æ*. The last named, it will be noticed, was read by Mr. Jewitt as *Æ*. It is doubtful whether another numeral has existed after the X, but certainly there has not been more than one.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that at ten or eleven miles distance, from where the milestone was originally placed, there existed the Roman station named *Navio*. The question then arises, Was the stone, in its original position, or nearly so, when found?

Mr. Jewitt in his account of the stone in the "Reliquary," says at p. 207, that it was found "in a lane at Buxton," and at p. 208, he says that it was found "at Higher Buxton, on the line of the Roman road leading from Manchester by way of Stockport, Buxton, &c., to Little Chester, and at about a quarter of a mile from the earthworks at Stadon Moor." After describing this road from Buxton to Little Chester, and the several other roads issuing from the former station, Mr. Jewitt says, at p. 209, "The milestone recently found may doubtless refer to some station on one of these roads, but which, it is impossible to say."

A writer in the "Buxton Advertiser," June 14th, 1862, says, "it was found in a garden occupied by Mr. Matthew Lees in Higher Buxton," in turning up the soil, and he then asks if any Roman road "passed the site of the garden (near the Silverlands)."

Mr. Hutchison, during my correspondence with him as to the stone, informed me that "it was dug up, in an old man's garden in Higher Buxton, within a few yards of the public road, and I feel certain was *in situ*."

To this evidence must be added the fact, according to Mr. Jewitt, that the stone is composed "of the flinty gritstone of the neighbourhood, being similar to the rock at the summit of Corbar," so that it was not brought from any distance for building purposes, which, in fact, from the abundance of stone would be useless.



Although found *nearest* to the line of Roman road leading to Little Chester, the stone was certainly not found *on* its line. (This road in the neighbourhood of Buxton now forms the road to Ashborne.) But another road of Roman construction, leads E.N.E. from Buxton, and proceeds to the Roman station at Brough, in the parish of Hope, which is about eleven miles distant, and in the angle between these roads, the stone was apparently found, and on one or other of these roads we must certainly look for the station *Navio*. The name of the station at Brough has hitherto been unknown: Can it have borne this name? Inscribed fragments, statues, coins, foundations, pavements, &c., have been found there, and its distance from ~~Buxton~~ agrees with the miles marked on the stone. But, on the other hand, should the stone have been originally placed on the line of road to Little Chester, where are we to find *Navio*? Probably at Middleton (by Youlgreave), where a fine Roman altar, coins, paterae, mortaria, fibulæ, &c., have been found at different times.<sup>3</sup> Parwich, which is further on the line of the same road (and where are vestiges of a camp, though doubtful whether Roman), seems too far off, but I leave to other and more able hands the task of fixing with precision the exact site.

In any event, the fact seems established that the *Aquae* of Ravennas which he names next to *Navio* was at Buxton (the Roman remains of baths, &c., which have from time to time been found there, I need not describe), and that *Navio* was either at Brough, or on the line of Roman road, between Buxton and Little Chester, and consequently within the county of Derby; thus raising to four in number, the stations in that county whose names are known.

Of the other stations named in this second series *Banovallum* has generally been placed at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, from the fact of the latter, which is an undoubted Roman station, being situated on the river "Bane;" but I think this place is too far to the eastward, and that the site of *Banovallum* should be looked for between Buxton and Lincoln. As to *Arnezeza* and *Zerdotalia*, I think it probable that one of them is the station at Melandra Castle; but until further

<sup>3</sup> Bateman's "Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire," p. 160. A fine bronze Roman candlestick was also found there.

discoveries are made the name of this station must remain in abeyance. The noble owner of the site (Lord Howard of Glossop,) recently informed me that he was thinking of excavating the station. Should he do so, I feel sure that he would be rewarded by interesting discoveries. I may state that on visiting the spot in April, 1874, with my friend Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., we found the measurements of the station, as given by Mr. Watson in the "Archaeologia," vol. iii., p. 236, entirely correct.

## CÆSAR'S LANDING-PLACE IN BRITAIN.<sup>1</sup>

By G. DOWKER, Esq., F.G.S.

THE subject of the landing place of Julius Cæsar has been so warmly contested by able writers, including classical scholars, astronomers, Emperors, and mathematicians, that it may appear very presumptuous in me to offer an opinion on the subject; but as those writers have arrived at different conclusions, I may, perhaps, be allowed as a geologist to put in a plea; knowing intimately the geological and physical features of Kent, and having studied the subject of the changes in its coast since the event in question. I can lay no claim to classical knowledge, and on that ground I could not demand attention; but I may mention that in determining a question of this nature most dependence may be placed on the indirect evidence afforded by the features of a country of which we have a narrative some two thousand years ago, and the evidence of those changes which have, and are taking place so slowly, though so surely, along our coasts. It appears to me that the question has very frequently been debated quite ignoring these facts, and the present, not the past aspect of the country has been taken as a guide. On reading most of the essays on the subject, I have been much struck with this fact, and Cæsar's plain narrative appears to have been strained to square with some favourite theory. By numerous writers all the classical evidence bearing on the subject has been brought together, and the value attached to each carefully weighed, though Cæsar's plain narrative (which from internal evidence is clear and accurate) must ever be our surest guide. Cæsar tells us<sup>2</sup>—"A small part of the summer remaining," (it was therefore autumn). "I resolved to proceed to Britain." He wished to learn particulars of the island over against Gaul, because he learned that in his Gallic wars succours were obtained from

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, July

29th, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> Bell. Gall., l. iv. 20.





thence. He first interrogated the merchants who traded with Britain, from whom, it appears, he learnt but little. He wished to ascertain "what ports were proper for a multitude of the larger vessels." "*Qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus.*"<sup>3</sup> "To ascertain these things he sends Caius Volusenus to explore, with a long vessel, ordering him to return as soon as possible," and then "he himself proceeds with all his forces to the Morini, because thence was the shortest passage to Britain." Volusenus returns in five days and delivers his report, but he was not able to land because of the enemy. "About eighty vessels of burden having been collected, which he considered sufficient for transporting two legions,<sup>4</sup> he distributed to the quæstors, lieutenants, and prefects what he had besides of long vessels; to these were added eighteen vessels of burden, which were detained 8000 paces from that place by the wind, so that they were not able to arrive at the same port."

From another part of his narrative we learn that these vessels were detained to the north of Cæsar's port, described—"ulteriorem portum."<sup>5</sup> "Having obtained proper weather for sailing, he loosed at the third watch." He himself about the fourth hour of the day reached Britain with the first ships, and beheld the armed forces of the enemy posted on all the hills, of which place this was the nature; the sea was confined so by close mountains that a dart might be hurled from the higher places upon the shore."<sup>6</sup> Cæsar proceeds:—"Having judged this by no means a proper place for disembarking, he waited at anchor to the ninth hour." Showing his lieutenants what he had learned from Volusenus, he gave them his orders, and, "having obtained both wind and tide favourable at one time," ("*nactus et ventum et æstum secundum uno tempore*") he weighed anchor, and proceeding about seven miles from that place, "stations his ships near an open and level shore."

So much for Cæsar's narrative, which in the following chapters gives full information respecting the nature of the shore and the attack on the Britons. In order that we may determine the landing place of Cæsar, we have to consider, firstly, his port of embarkation; secondly, the direction he took; and, thirdly, the distance he sailed. It is not easy at

<sup>3</sup> Bell. Gall., l. iv. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Bell. Gall., l. iv. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Bell. Gall., l. iv. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Bell. Gall., l. iv. 23.

this distance of time to get at all the data necessary for this determination, because great changes have taken place along the coasts of Britain and France during the 2000 years that have since elapsed. I purpose to state the evidence of these changes more especially in reference to the coast near Deal and Sandwich, where many able writers have fixed Cæsar's landing place. Deal is situate on a bank of recent beach which during many ages has been accumulating round the point of Kingsdown Cliff, and is even now travelling eastwards towards Sandown Castle. Beyond this point the shore is composed of sand, and is so level that the distance between the tide marks is very great. This sand is blown inland, and forms the sand hills or dunes. The direction of these dunes mark the successive advance of the shore. Thus the low land between Deal and Sandwich is protected from inundation by a natural embankment. The present river Stour winds through marshes between the high lands on either side of Canterbury towards Sarre, beyond Grove Ferry, where it turns at right angles, flowing by Stourmouth, where it is joined by the lesser Stour; then through the Minster Marshes, and making another right-angled turn, flows beneath the hill of Richborough and thence to Sandwich, turning round Stonar, and finally reaching the sea at Pegwell Bay, the present mouth being but little removed from Ramsgate harbour. The marsh land through which it flows is about three-quarters of a mile wide at Stourmouth, and from a mile-and-a-half to two miles at Richborough. Towards the centre of this marsh, the soil is composed of recent alluvial mud to a depth of twenty or thirty feet, shallowing on either side towards the older formations. We may learn from these data that the river was formerly much deeper and wider than at the present time, and, from the greater depth of recent alluvial mud, we learn that it flowed out to sea near Sandwich. The land composing the marsh is formed by the mud deposited for centuries on each overflow of the river. We have no evidence of any change of level in the land since Roman times, save that occasioned by silting up of an old channel. There are many facts which lead us to conclude that this silting up went on much more rapidly formerly than at present; since 1776, when the Commissioners of Sewers obtained an Act of Parliament to make a new cut at Stonar, the marsh has suffered less

from inundation. The history of Sandwich (formerly a chief and much frequented port) furnishes numerous historical data, whence we may trace the great changes which have taken place along the coast. These data carry us back 1000 years. The decay of Sandwich as a port was the result of the gradual decay of the haven. Thus in 1052 we find that Earl Godwin assembled his fleet at Sandwich, and, sailing up through the north mouth, spoiled Sheppy; and in 1046 the Danes landed at Sandwich with their fleet; not to mention numerous facts of later date which show that the town then stood at the mouth of the Wansum. A large channel flowed in at that place and out near Reculver, so that the Isle of Thanet was then a veritable "island," separated from the mainland by a considerable breadth of water, which must have been narrowed between Sandwich and Stonar (formerly a town of some importance).

I can find no evidence of the Wansum flowing out at Cliff's End; indeed, all the facts point the other way, and, whatever reliance may be placed on old maps, they all agree in placing the mouth of the Stour or Wansum much more westerly than at present. In Saxon and Danish times Sandwich was the chief port whence continental traffic was carried on.

If we contemplate the changes wrought by time during these one thousand years, it will not be too much to imagine as great a change in coast and river during the preceding 1000 years. We find frequent mention of the Rutupine coast by the earlier Roman writers, but in later times the great fortress is alluded to under the name of Rutupium, which has been almost universally ascribed to Richboro'. Mr. Roach Smith in his account of Richborough quotes Tacitus, in his "Life of Agricola," stating that the Roman fleet entered the Trutulesian harbour, by which, he supposes, was meant the Rutupine. It being certain that Richboro' was a port, we may consider how far it was removed from the sea. I have spoken of Stonar: it fronts Richboro' towards the east, and is situated on a great bank of sea beach which must have taken ages to accumulate, as it is now in some places 500 yards wide. It would appear that this and the other sea beaches along the coast have travelled from the west; the Stonar beach must have travelled from the cliff between Dover and Deal. The present town of Deal



is situated on a comparatively recent beach. I have evidence of the beach at the back of Deal containing mediæval remains. It is certain that when the sea swept the Stonar beach, Deal had no existence, and the map I here append would represent the probable line of coast. Beyond Walmer the cliff of chalk appears gradually increasing in height as we approach Dover, at St. Margaret's Bay, South Foreland, an indentation of the coastline forms the bay. The cliff between here and Dover is being gradually undermined by the sea, so that the promontory of cliff must formerly have presented a more indented bay, and the same may be said of Dover.<sup>7</sup>

Such are the coast changes towards the east of Kent. Westward, beyond the high land of Folkestone and Hythe, we come to the low land of Romney Marsh, and (though I do not attempt in this paper to trace the changes in this neighbourhood) still I will briefly allude to them, because many suppose Cæsar to have landed here. At Hythe the great escarpment of the Lower Green-sand, stretching inland towards Lymne, forms an abrupt and steep ascent; below this the military canal, once the channel of the Lymen, flows up to Appledore. This river, since called the Rother, once flowed out at Romney, but from some cause it shifted its channel. The tract of land between Hythe and Romney would now be covered by the sea at high tide were it not for artificial embankments. It seems probable, however, that most of these great changes may have been accomplished before Roman times, since Roman pottery has been found near Dunchurch in such position as to lead to the supposition that a Roman pottery existed there. But this much is evident, that at the period of Cæsar's invasion the marsh was little better than a swamp of mud, great part being under water at high tide.

Turning from the changes on land, we will now consider the changes in the Channel. The Goodwin Sands lie opposite Deal and Pegwell Bay; they are about ten miles long, and in some places three, and at others seven miles from the shore, and for a certain space they are laid bare at low water. That they are a remnant of the land, and not mere accumulations of sea sand, may be presumed from the

<sup>7</sup> The chalk cliffs south of Thanet had on an average lost three feet per annum during the ten years preceeding 1830.—Sir C. Lyell.

fact that, when the building of a light-house on this shoal was in contemplation by the Trinity Board in 1871, it was found by boring that the bank consisted of 15 feet of sand resting on blue clay. An obscure tradition says that the estates of Earl Godwin, father of Harold, who died in 1053, were situated here, and some have conjectured they were overwhelmed by the flood mentioned in the Saxon chronicle in the year 1097. The accumulations of shingle near Dungeness have, by the change of direction of velocity of the currents gathered to a great extent round the points, and Mr. Redman estimates an annual increase of nearly six yards. Mr. Drew (Geological Survey Memoirs) points out how the beach formerly near Rye had been swept away and redeposited in a different direction. These facts tend to prove that geological changes of coastline have altered the direction and velocity of the currents, and the size and height of the Goodwin Sands would materially affect the same.

Before I resume Cæsar's narrative, I would draw attention to his port of embarkation. I have not had the same opportunity of examining the French coast that I have of the English, and must, therefore, trust to the description given by others, but I would offer the caution not to accept too readily the present appearance of coast in our estimate of what existed two thousand years ago, as all projecting headlands of chalk are being cut back, and, in some cases, river beds or deep valleys silted up. I have availed myself of the facts collected touching the question by G. T. Lewin, Esq., M.A., who published his "Invasion of Britain by Cæsar" in 1859, and also of the writings of others who have come to a different conclusion from Mr. Lewin. Indeed, so much has been written, that I could not in the space of this memoir give even a summary of the arguments; but any careful reader of Cæsar's account can but arrive at the conclusion that he landed in Kent, and started from one of the ports nearest to Britain. Cæsar started from the country of the Morini, which probably occupied the coast from the river La Canche, on the west, to the Aa, at Gravelines, on the east. The greater number of writers regard Boulogne as the starting point, though Wissant has been advocated by some learned antiquarians. Mr. Lewin objects to Wissant as not a seaport. Ambleteuse might have been

the port, eight miles off, mentioned by Cæsar. I should rather rely on the authority of D'Anville, and place the starting point at or near Wissant;<sup>8</sup> but in reality the exact spot would not affect the argument, except as regards the distance from Britain, and I know of no satisfactory reason why the port of embarkation should be considered as exactly thirty miles from Britain; but, allowing this, it might have been Boulogne, though it seems to me that the nearest point to Dover Cliff would naturally be chosen. At Calais great accumulations of sand have much reduced the harbour. Probably in Roman times the sea flowed in at the mouth of the river and over the low lands beyond Calais.

Let us place ourselves in the position of Caius Volusenus, the emissary of Cæsar, and picture to ourselves what he must have seen. Starting, it may be, from Calais, in his war galley, he beholds in the distance the white cliffs of Albion about the South Foreland, and sails towards them; he would probably cross a tide running in either an easterly or westerly direction. Assuming now that it turned eastwards, he would coast along the high cliff towards Walmer (having observed the bay formed by the projecting headlands each side of St. Margaret's). As he approaches Walmer, the high cliff terminates gradually, and a beach succeeds; following this, he would see a low ridge of sand terminating opposite Sandwich, where the Wansum discharged its waters into the sea; then, as now, the set of the tide would rather throw back the mouth of the river, leaving a promontory of low land; he might sail round this promontory and enter the river, and, though the hostile attitude of the natives might forbid him to venture too near land, he would see that this river opened out beyond Sandwich to a considerable width; on his right he would behold the Stonar beach, on his left the site of Sandwich, before him the hill on which Richborough now stands, the high land of the Isle of Thanet stretching away towards the right hand, and that of Woodnesborough towards the left.

Retracing his course, we will now follow him in a westerly direction. He had, probably, observed the Goodwin Sands stretching out as a long low island. Repassing the South Foreland, he arrived at Dover: the sea ran in towards

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Guest, "Archæological Journal," vol. xxi., p. 220, gives reasons for believ-

ing Wissant as the probable point whence Cæsar sailed.

Buckland, and both Shakespere's Cliff and the Castle Hill Cliff projected more seaward, he would find a deep narrow bay, surrounded by high cliffs; passing onward he would find a wall of cliff, only terminating towards Hythe. If we except Dover, no landing place would have been found suitable for an invading force (if opposed) between Hythe and Sandwich, and such must have been his report to Cæsar.

Portus Lemanis, afterwards a celebrated Roman port at the entrance of the river Lemana, has been advocated by some as Cæsar's landing place, most notably by G. M. Lewin, Esq.<sup>9</sup> Later Mr. F. Hobson Appach has supposed Appledore to have been the place, and that the whole of Romney Marsh was then occupied by the sea. I cannot, however, accept this conclusion; for though Romney Marsh has undoubtedly been covered by the sea at some remote period, yet the fact of Roman pottery having been found near Dunchurch forbids such a supposition. However, we cannot without doing violence to the plain meaning of Cæsar's narrative, accept the *dictum* that when off Dover (or probably the South Foreland) he took a westerly course. Mr. Lewin supposes the south-east wind which took him to Dover to have changed to the west. I am, however, anticipating—we will return to Cæsar. The calculations of astronomers have fixed the date of Cæsar's first invasion as Saturday the 26th of August; and a great amount of ingenious speculation has been hazarded respecting the course of the tide off Dover. He sailed at the third watch, *i. e.* about 12 o'clock at night, and arrived at Britain about 10 a.m. the next day, and he remained at anchor till the ninth hour, about 3 p.m. Cæsar tells us, "having obtained both wind and tide favourable at one time"—"*et ventum, et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo, et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum VII., ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.*"

It has been attempted to calculate by means of the present tide tables which way the tide set off Dover two thousand years ago. I would only remark, in reference to these tide tables, that even at the present time much difference is observed, caused by the force and direction of the wind; and though, in order to determine this question

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Lewin, "Cæsar's Invasion of Britain."

of the tides, the President of the Society of Antiquarians wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, in 1862, and received for reply that entire reliance might be placed on the observations of the late Rear-Admiral Beechy, and, though careful observations have been furnished from the survey of C. K. Calver,<sup>1</sup> yet a recent attempt to swim the Channel by Captain Boyton, with all the advantages of the directions of naval men, ended in failure chiefly from the effect of the tide.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case now, how much greater must be the disturbing effects of the coast changes which have been going on for two thousand years. Would no effect be produced in the tides if the water ran in at Sandwich and out at Reculver, as we know it did in Saxon times? Would no effect be felt by the tides if the Goodwins were now an island? Would no effect be created if the whole of Romney Marsh were under water? It is impossible for us to base calculations on the present tide tables with any chance of arriving at the truth, if we ignore those great geological changes which have taken place in our coast line. We must return to Cæsar's account, and take a common sense view of it, and we shall have no difficulty in following him. I would leave the exact point of departure and assume that Mr. Lewin, Mr. Appach, and the Emperor of the French are right in taking Boulogne as the starting point. At eight miles more north the cavalry were detained by a contrary wind. We are sure, then, that the wind blew from some point near the south when Cæsar sailed—a south-west wind would be the "proper weather," and we may, I think, with confidence assume that the tide ran towards the west. Mr. Cardwell contends that the tide must have taken Cæsar to the east when it turned—it must consequently, have run westward before—though Mr. Lewin and Mr. Appach contend for the reverse.

At 10 a.m. Cæsar with his first ships beheld the coast of Britain, and his description would answer well for Dover where he beheld the armed forces of the enemy posted on all the hills. It will be remembered that Cæsar had with him eighty ships. Mr. Appach,<sup>3</sup> calculates that his fleet, allowing room between each vessel to manœuvre and prevent acci-

<sup>1</sup> See correspondence between the Society of Antiquaries and the Admiralty, 1862.

Captain Webb, who profited from Captain Boyton's experiment.

<sup>2</sup> Page 58.

<sup>3</sup> This has since been accomplished by

**NORTH FORELAND**



dents, would extend nearly four miles, and as Cæsar himself probably sailed in one of the triremes, or long vessels (which impelled by oars could take any position), he probably passed Dover towards St. Margaret's Bay before all his ships were at anchor. While waiting at anchor, Cæsar assembled his officers, instructed them what he had learned from Volusenus, and formed his plan of action. How could we adopt the theory of Mr. Lewin, that the wind after this suddenly changed to the east, and that Cæsar was drifted back by the tide twelve miles, to Hythe? Cæsar says, "having obtained wind and tide favourable at one time" (favourable, for he had formed his plans), he "progressus" "about seven miles." How could "progressus" imply a change of wind? From the South Foreland, where Cæsar's own ship was stationed, seven miles would bring him near the mouth of Sandwich Haven. Mr. Appach, in support of his argument that Cæsar landed near Bonnington, quotes Dion Cassius,<sup>4</sup> and, after explaining that Cæsar did not land where he intended because the enemy occupied all the places facing the Continent, he proceeds to say that he sailed round a kind of projecting point and coasted along to another place.

In a former part of this memoir I showed that, probably in Roman times the coast was cut back behind Deal, and the low sandy shore and sand hills extended much less than at present, but still formed a promontory caused by the prevailing tides, which have since driven the mouth of the river near Pegwell Bay.

If we have been led to consider that Cæsar must have been off Sandwich when he first attempted to land, we shall find that every subsequent movement may here be traced. As soon as the Britons understood the designs of Cæsar, they followed him along the cliff from the South Foreland, and the cavalry and chariots advanced and pre-occupied the low lands near Deal. It must have been between 4 and 5 p.m. before Cæsar could have disposed his ships ready for landing, and his eighty ships must have reached a distance of at least two miles. The sea shore was very flat, as it is at the present day off Sandwich, and Cæsar's first difficulty was the long distance from the shore that he was obliged to leave his ships. If Cæsar had sailed eastward at the

<sup>4</sup> Dion Cassius.



turn of the tide it must have been still rising, and, consequently, the water must have increased in depth after the ships were brought to anchor—hence his soldiers hesitated to throw themselves into the water. At this juncture Cæsar orders his long vessels, impelled by oars, to be stationed on the open flank of the enemy. The shore (as I have elsewhere explained) must have formed a short promontory, and the mouth of the Stour offered an opportunity seized upon by Cæsar to station his ships on the open flank of the enemy; and here they discharged upon them arrows and missiles from the ships. Thus attacked on their right flank, the diversion gave Cæsar's soldiers courage, and leaping into the water they drove back the enemy. The Britons now sent ambassadors to treat for peace and release Comius, who had been sent by Cæsar to Britain. On the fourth day of Cæsar's arrival the eighteen vessels sailed from the upper port with a gentle wind, this wind was probably from the north-east; a vessel from Calais to Dover might sail with such a wind, but if it increased to a tempest, and if the tide turned contrary, it would be driven back; and we are told that these eighteen vessels were driven back to the "lower part of the island which is nearer the sun's setting." It happened the same night that a high tide filled the long vessels drawn up on shore, and the tempest shattered those that were at anchor. We must next consider the probable position of Cæsar's camp. It must have been near the shore and within sight of the vessels at anchor; and we are told that the eighteen vessels approaching Britain were seen from it. Near Sandwich, and between it and Word, the land rises till we approach a hill overlooking the mouth of the Stour, and partly surrounded in the rear by the Word and Ham Marshes. Such a position would be favourable for the purpose; and although we cannot point to any remains distinctly to be traced to a camp, I may remark that Cæsar most probably employed wood for such a purpose.<sup>5</sup> It would seem by the larger vessels remaining at anchor, that Cæsar was afraid to trust them too near land, for fear of a surprise by the enemy.

Mr. Lewin, in objecting to Deal as Cæsar's landing-place asks<sup>6</sup>—"Where again are the marshes which are put promi-

<sup>5</sup> Boys's "History of Sandwich," p. 869 describes a Roman building in

Castlefield Word.  
<sup>6</sup> Lewin, p. 50.

nently forward in every writer's account? Cæsar speaks of the *vada* or shoals, Dion of the *Τενάγος* or lagoons (in xxxix. 51), Plutarch of the marshy and swampy ground, Valerius Maximus of an island formed by the ebb and flow of the tide.<sup>7</sup> The marshes about Word are known as the Ham ponds, and are now little more than a swamp. Now comes the incident of the attack by the Britons on Cæsar's foraging party. Mr. Lewin has found the very field. I will not attempt to be so accurate, but from the hill of Woodnesboro', where also there is a wood, you may picture the scene. Cæsar seems from the first to have dreaded the chariots of the enemy, and would probably fix his first camp where the ground was unfavourable for their employ. The mention by Cæsar of "tempests following for many successive days, keeping his men in camp, and restraining the enemy from attack," would lead us to suppose that the camp was in great measure surrounded by marsh land, and such would be precisely the nature of the camp as I picture it. Mr. Lewin thinks that in the attack on the camp occurred the incident related by Valerius Maximus, of one Scæva, who had been posted with four others on a solitary ait which rose above the waves, and was separated by a larger island occupied by the enemy. If we have been thus far led by Cæsar's narrative to consider Sandwich as the point where he landed, we shall, I think, find this opinion strengthened when we consider his second invasion of Britain in the next year, B.C. 54. The continuation of adverse wind from the north-west, detained Cæsar at the Portus Itius for the next twenty-five days; at length the wind shifted to the south-west, when he set sail at night with about eight hundred ships; about midnight the wind died away, and the ships were carried by the tide so far that in the morning he beheld "Britain forsaken" on the left hand. Now how can we accept Mr. Lewin's supposition that Cæsar merely sailed beyond the North Foreland when he thus speaks of "Britain forsaken" on the left hand? The cliffs of Ramsgate would be plainly visible. Cæsar must then have been carried at the back of the Goodwin, beyond the North Foreland, to which place his account would strictly apply. Mr. Appach<sup>8</sup> concludes that Cæsar was beyond the South Foreland, and assumes

<sup>7</sup> "τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μαπτὸν ὕδατος . . . τὰς βαλίζων."—Plut. Cæs. 16.  
 ρεύματα τετρατόδη . . . ταμὲν νηχομένους     <sup>8</sup> F. H. Appach, p. 103.

that he expected Britain on his right hand, because in his first voyage he had landed at Appledore, and Romney Marsh was occupied by the sea, consequently he found land on his right hand. "Cæsar then followed a change of the tide, and by means of oars he reached that part of the island on which he had learned the summer before that landing was best." Now Cæsar finds, contrary to his expectation, that his landing was not disputed by the enemy, and about noon he prepared to land. It seems most likely that Cæsar, having been driven by the tide beyond the North Foreland, when he came back with the tide, returned on the other side of the Goodwin, and coasted along to the mouth of the Wansum. It being high tide, and meeting with no opposition, he would sail into the harbour, and from his acquaintance with this port, gathered from his experience the previous summer, would pitch on the high ground at Richborough as just the spot to fix his camp, whence he could see his ships at anchor off Stonar, and where his small craft could find proper shelter. Cæsar having learned from his captives by what road the enemy had retired, resolved to pursue them the same night. It was at the full moon, and at midnight he marches in pursuit of them, having left ten cohorts and three hundred horse to guard the ships. He informs us that having proceeded about twelve miles he discerns the forces of the enemy, who were assembled with chariots and horses at a river. Most probably they were retreating, and their rear-guard watching the movements of Cæsar's cavalry. Cæsar goes on to state "they having proceeded with chariots and cavalry to the river, began from the high ground to check our men, and to join battle." We will endeavour to trace Cæsar's movements. He probably landed at two or three points;<sup>9</sup> his baggage was taken to the spot fixed on for the camp; sailing or rowing up the Sandwich haven, he landed the baggage on the island of Richborough, his cavalry disembark near the site of Sandwich, and pursue the enemy who had retreated to the high ground, the hill of Woodnesborough, which probably formed a British encampment.<sup>1</sup> As the Britons used chariots, it is to be presumed that they had also roads of some sort; and the Woodnesborough hill, on which we assume they were

<sup>9</sup> Dion Cassius, xi. 1

Woodnesboro from the British.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hausted derives the name of

posted, commanded a view of the surrounding country, and the church on its summit is even now used as a land-mark. From this point a road traverses the brow of the escarpment of the lower London tertiaries, now noted for its abundant growth of timber, and passing through Staple to Wingham and Littlebourne would lead directly to Canterbury, then doubtless a British camp. The only obstacle to a march from Woodnesborough would be the Little Stour at Littlebourne, but I may observe that the little river is mostly fed by a periodical stream the Nailbourne, and as it was then July, there is every probability that very little water flowed; at the present time the water is kept back by numerous water-mills. There is no ground for the supposition of the Emperor Napoleon, that the river mentioned by Cæsar was the lesser Stour; no high ground on either side would offer any impediment to the invading forces. It is not probable that Cæsar crossed the Stour at any point below Fordwich, as the valley opens into a broad marsh below that town, which would be quite impassable in Roman times. Canterbury or Fordwich would have been the most eligible spot. Perhaps Cæsar came up with the enemy at the latter place, and followed them to Canterbury. He arrived here about day-break as he had travelled all night, and repulsed the Britons who withdrew into the woods. The Great Blean wood would offer them the required shelter. Five miles west of Canterbury we find Chilham Castle, situated on an eminence on the north bank of the Stour, and just at the narrow gorge of the chalk hills; here probably, as supposed by Canon Jenkins, the enemy made their last stand. Had Cæsar not previously crossed the river, he would probably have done so here. Canterbury (where the river divides into two branches) might not have been found such an eligible spot.<sup>2</sup>

Cæsar forbade his men to follow the enemy, because, a greater portion of the day having been spent, he wished for time to fortify his camp.<sup>3</sup> Cæsar must thus have followed, and engaged the enemy from sunrise till nearly sunset, and had ample time to reach beyond Chilham.

I would have you now only follow the narrative as far as the return to Cæsar's ships. He now learned that "the night before, a very great tempest having arisen, nearly all

<sup>2</sup> Observations on Chilham Castle, by the Rev. N. C. Jenkins—*Archæologia*

*Cantiana*, vol. vii.

<sup>3</sup> "Quod magnâ parte dies consumptâ."

the vessels had been shattered and cast out on the shore, because neither their anchors and cables stayed them, nor could the sailors endure the tempest." Cæsar then resolves that "all the vessels should be drawn up on shore and be joined with the camp by one fortification;" in these measures he spends about ten days and nights. He continues: "The vessels having been drawn up and the camp excellently fortified, he leaves the same forces which he left before as a guard to the ships, and himself proceeds to the same place whence he had returned." And now I venture to answer a very difficult question—Where could this camp have been? I have rather anticipated the reply. Cæsar, it appears, left his ships on the open shore so far from land as to ride at anchor, with a very small force in the first and second invasions to guard them. It is therefore likely that he relied more on his command of the sea and distance from the shore, than on anything else, for their defence: it is, therefore, most likely that, having landed his forces near Sandwich, he withdrew his fleet opposite Stonar, and chose the high ground of Richborough, nearly an island, for his camp. On this occasion he resolved to draw up his ships and enclose them within the camp. When we remember that the Sandwich haven flowed up to the very walls of Richborough, and that there they were mostly out of reach of the enemy, we may, I think, conclude that this camp was on no other spot than that on which Richborough now stands. In my account of the explorations of the Kent Archæological Society I pointed out an artificial excavation in the bank of Richborough, opposite a place called Fleet. Such an excavation would probably serve for the small craft employed by Cæsar in the first invasion. I do not affirm the present castle to have been built by him, nor do I know that the camp mentioned by Cæsar was more than earthworks defended by wood, but it is evident that the hill of Richborough must have presented itself to Cæsar as a most eligible place for a naval camp, at once a defence from the enemy and a shelter for his ships. The hill of Richborough is approached by a strip of high land following the East Street Ash. I have ascertained that this now reaches nearly up to the hill, so that even in a high tide covering the marshes around, a terrace of high land would remain, except at two places now cut through by streams.

In conclusion, then, I would observe that Deal probably did not exist in Roman times; that a bay existed near Sandwich; and that, as it appears that Cæsar landed his forces at or near a point whence he could get his long vessels on the flank of the enemy, he must have landed at Sandwich, and not at Deal, where no such bay existed. It is also most probable that, if not on the first invasion, at least at some later period, Cæsar made his camp on the hill of Richborough.

THE "KEEPER OF SAINT CHAD'S HEAD" IN LICHFIELD  
CATHEDRAL, AND OTHER MATTERS CONCERNING THAT  
MINSTER IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

By JOHN HEWITT.

By the kindness of the late Dean Champneys, I was allowed some time ago to examine the manuscripts repositied in Lichfield Cathedral Library. In the "Archaeological Journal," vol. xxix., p. 71, will be found a few notes from one of them, a volume of Medical Recipes of Sir John Floyer, who was physician to King Charles II. I have now the pleasure to offer a few excerpts from a collection of MSS., lettered "Cantaria Sancti Blasii," many of which relate to the Chantry of St. Blaise, founded in the fifteenth century by Dean Heywode; others to gifts made by this dignitary to our cathedral, its altars and officers.

One of the most curious is that which relates to the "Keeper of St. Chad's Head," who was also Capellan of the Chantry of St. Blaise, founded by Dean Heywode. Two silver-gilt monstrances of curious workmanship are given by our good Dean, in presence of his fellow-dignitaries in Chapter assembled, for the safe keeping of certain sacred relics. "Item in festo Sancti Clementis anno dom. M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup> octogesimo primo. prefatus magister Thomas Heywode. decanus in loco capitulari. coram suis confratribus. dedit ecclesie cathedralis lichfeldensis duas capsellas, anglicè *monstrance*, argenteas deauratas et curiose fabricatas pro reliquiis in eis conservandis. Et tradite fuerunt Domino Willielmo Hukyns. capellano cantarie sancti Blasii. ac custodi capitis sancti cedde. ad valorem iiij.li. et xiiij.s." (folio 31<sup>a</sup>).

From a further entry we learn that there was in our Cathedral a special altar called the Altar of St. Chad, and on this the venerated head of the saint was placed. The capellan, William Hukyns named above, was also in charge

of this altar, but whether it was situated in the same Chantry of St. Blaise does not clearly appear. The gift of Dean Heywode here recorded consists of an altar-cloth of twill—"de panno bilicino."

"Mappa data altari ubi restat caput sc̃i cedde.

"Item prefatus Decanus dedit altari sc̃i cedde in capella ubi caput eius mirifice honoratur. unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino. et tradita fuit manibus domini Willielmi Hukyns ejusdem capelle custodis" (fol. 31<sup>b</sup>).

What became of this relic at the time of the Reformation has not been ascertained. If decorated with gold and jewels, as we may well believe it to have been, its fate on falling into the hands of the Tudor emissaries may be readily imagined.<sup>1</sup>

Learning that certain of the relics of St. Chad were still preserved in the Cathedral of St. Chad at Birmingham, I requested to be supplied with some account of them; and by the ready acquiescence of Canon Longman and the Rev. Mr. Greaney, I am enabled to offer the following notice, in which their history is traced from the period of the Reformation to the present day. Mr. Greaney writes as follows :—

### *The Relics of St. Chad.*

The Rev. Alban Butler, in his life of St. Chad, tells us that "his relics were translated from the Church of St. Peter in Lichfield into the great church which was built in 1148, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Chad, which is now the Cathedral; and they remained there till the change of religion."

What became of a considerable portion of them afterwards will appear from the following Relation, taken from a MS. in the handwriting of the Rev. Alban Butler, now in the archives of Oscott College.<sup>2</sup>

"Relatio quomodo sex ossa majora reliquiarum S. Ceaddæ

<sup>1</sup> At Lincoln there was a similar officer, the Custodian of Saint Hugh's Head. In Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. iii., part 2, p. 720, is a curious notice of the theft of this head, which was adorned with gold and silver; or, according to Knighton

(Decem Scriptores, ad an. 1364) with gold, silver, and jewels. The official accounts of the Custodian of St. Hugh's head are still preserved among the muniments of Lincoln Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Near Birmingham.



ad manus meas pervenerunt, scripta a P. D. Pietro Turnero et D. Gulielmo Atkins, Sacerd : Miss : S. J.

"A.D. 1615, 8 Sept., ipso B. Virginis natali, Henricus Hoodsheeds de Woodseten propè Segleiam<sup>3</sup> in com. Stafford, moribundus, me accersivit. Homine munito præsidiis Eccle : deindè positis genibus Litanias majores recitamus, ad quas æger, cum esset linguæ Latinæ non ignarus, pie admodum respondit. Cum ad eum locum perventum est ubi S.S. Confessores invocantur, sustulit utramque manum e lecto extractam et devotè junctam, offerens in has voces prorupit : 'Sanctus Ceadda, ora pro me.' Cum hæc frequenter repeteret, cursum Litaniarum interrumpi ; cumque petii cur toties S. Ceaddam invocaret, respondit : 'Sanctus Ceadda desuper in superiore parte lecti præsens est, quem ego thesaurum majori cupio cum honore asservari ; et proindè illum tibi dono.' His dictis et Litaniiis absolutis, sacras reliquias intueri cupio, quas exordio tincto seu velo majori lineo, sed nigro (Anglicè, black buckram) opertas, uxor Henrici mihi in manus dat. Tum Henricus et ego opinabamur hoc velo tectas fuisse dum in thecâ aliquâ argenteâ in Lichfeldensi ecclesiâ reconderentur. Ego velo prædicto sacra ossa abstuli, et in pixide ligneâ 19 vel 20 digitos longâ, 6 digitos profundâ, 6 digitos latâ, minoribus seris firmatâ, eadem ossa reposui, cum velo separatim complicato.

"Roganti mihi quomodo has reliquias nactus erat, respondit : 'Cum fides catholica everteretur, quidam Prebendarius (Dudley<sup>4</sup>) cognatus Domini Dudley (qui famoso nomine Dominus seu Baro quondam dictus est) has sacras reliquias ab ecclesiâ Lichfeldensi, honoris et reverentiæ causâ, sustulit, quas duabus nobilibus fœminis (ejusdem nominis de Dudley), cognatis suis, habitantibus apud Russel Hall, domum propè villam de Dudley, asservandas dedit. Mortuo prebendario, fœminæ timore legum exterritæ, licet Catholicæ, sese periculo eripere cupiunt ; proindè easdem reliquias mihi fratrique meo Gulielmo (familiares, vicinæ, et amicissimæ nobis erant) libenter concesserunt. Pars altera fratri, pars hæc mihi, divisione factâ, obvenit. Ab illo tempore ad hanc horam fideliter eas conservavi.

"Illo mortuo, ejus uxor mihi reliquias tradidit, quas in pixide cum velo, ut ante dixi, reposueram. Nec mihi dubium est quin verissima sint hæc ossa, cum propè 20

<sup>3</sup> Woodcotton, near Sedgley.

<sup>4</sup> See note below.

annos prudentiam et fidem hominis illius perspectam habuerim. In cujus rei fidem, nomen meum subscribo.

"Octob. 1, 1652.

"PETRUS TURNERUS.

THOMAS WILKINSON.

RICHARD VAVASOUR.

FRANCISCUS COTTON.

GULIELMUS ATKINS.<sup>5</sup>

"Domino Petro Turnero mortuo 27 Maii, 1655, hæ reliquiæ, approbante Domino Eduardo Bedingfield,<sup>6</sup> depositæ sunt apud Dominum Johannem Levesonum, eò quod hic ad districtum et collegium B. Aloysii<sup>7</sup> hujus temporis pertineret. Velum, de quo antè dixi eò quod esset vetustum nec satis honestum, a me Gulielmo Atkins combustum est.

"Pixis in quâ reliquiæ hæ repositæ sunt, a militibus et apparitoribus effracta est, et os unum contra pavementum allisum in duas partes dissiluit, in festo S. Andreæ, 1658, in domo Domini Levesoni. Impii illi partem reliquiarum secum asportaverunt.

"GULIELMUS ATKINS.

"Ego Gulielmus Atkins ex pyxide illâ a militibus effractâ sacras reliquias in aliam pyxidem, serico tectam, removi ann. 1661, 2 Martii.<sup>8</sup>

"R. P. Franciscus Fosterus Prov. Anglicanæ Provæ. S. J., anno 1652, 1 Oct., diligenter inspexit reliquias S. Ceaddæ, perque sibi privilegium Notarii Apostolici concessum, reliquias approbavit, dixitque sese effecturum ut relatio Dui. Turneri in acta referretur et in archiviis reponeretur.

"Ego GULIELMUS ATKINS,

"Præsens interfui."

To this relation is added another of Fr. Richard Strange, Rector of Ghent, dated Dec. 10, 1670, certifying that he brought out of England into Flanders, the year before, some of St. Chad's relics.

Also another of Fr. Anthony Terill, Rector of Liège, dated Sep. 21, 1671, attesting that he had obtained an approbation of the Relics of St. Chad, and leave to expose them

<sup>5</sup> The four additional names were probably inserted as Witnesses of the deed. Father Atkins died in prison, at the age of 80, a victim of the Oates plot.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Bedingfield was a Jesuit

priest, of the family of Bedingfield of Oxburgh, Norfolk.

<sup>7</sup> See note below.

<sup>8</sup> St. Chad's Day.

to public veneration in the chapel of the college of Liège, from the Most Rev. and Illustrious D. Ernest, Baron of Surlet, Vicar-General in Spirituals to His Serene Highness.

In another loose paper is a third attestation of Father Richard Barton, Rector of St. Omer, dated Jan. 20, 1667, bearing witness that being Visitor of the Residence of St. Chad, he took out of the box of St. Chad's relics "in domo cujusdam nobilis catholici" a particle of the same, and gave it to the Father Director of the English Sodality, to be exposed to public veneration, if the Bishop of St. Omer should approve.<sup>9</sup>

These relics were then at Boscobel,<sup>1</sup> a house of Mr. Fitzherbert, not very far from Wolverhampton, where they were in the custody of Father Collingwood, Superior of that District; from whence they were conveyed to Swinnerton, two miles from Stone, after Mr. Collingwood's death; this being the chief residence of Mr. Fitzherbert.

Thus far Alban Butler's narrative [writes the Rev. Mr. Greaney, who now himself continues the history].

The relics remained at Swinnerton under the care of the Jesuits until about 1790, when the family of the Fitzherberts leased their house to a Protestant family and went to reside at Aston Hall, about four miles from Swinnerton. To Fr. Maher, the chaplain, was entrusted the removal of all the altar furniture and appurtenances. He also removed the relics of St. Chad, and placed them in safety, for fear of the Pursuivants. He was the last of the Jesuit chaplains of the family, and in consequence of his sudden death, the place where the relics were concealed was for a time unknown. Father Maher was succeeded by a body of Franciscans, and to these succeeded, in 1837, the Rev. Benjamin Hulme, a secular priest. He, in this same year, whilst thoroughly renovating the chapel, found the box containing St. Chad's (and other) relics fastened up under the altar. The Rev. Dr. Kirk of Lichfield at once recognised

<sup>9</sup> At this time England was divided by the Jesuit fathers into about twelve districts called Colleges or Residences, all under the supervision of a Visitor or Provincial. Formerly Staffordshire was included in the College of St. Aloysius, in the Lancashire District, but in 1669-70 the College (or Residence) of St. Chad was established. Thus we see that the Rector of St. Omer, being Visitor

of St. Chad's College in England, finds the box of relics in the house of a Catholic nobleman (Fitzherbert?), obtains a portion, and sends it to St. Omer for public veneration.

<sup>1</sup> This is King Charles's Boscobel. The property formerly belonged to the Giffards: from that family it passed by an heiress to the Cottons, and from them, again by an heiress, to the Fitzherberts.

them as the relics of St. Chad.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Walsh, the Bishop of the district, and Bishop Wiseman, his coadjutor, went to Aston Hall, and having made a careful inquiry into the whole matter, and having fully satisfied themselves, presented a manifesto to Pope Gregory XVI., who, on weighing the evidence, granted permission for them to be publicly venerated.

The other relics, with their authentications, which were in the same box, were sent to Swinnerton, their original location, where the family of the Fitzherberts were again living. Those of St. Chad were brought by Bishop Wiseman to Oscott College. Here they were again examined, and are thus described :—

No. 1. A femur of the left side, nearly entire.

Nos. 2 and 3. The two tibiæ, both broken at the lower ends, one having the head of the fibula adhering.

No. 4. Portion of a humerus.

The relics of St. Chad were wrapped up in the slate-coloured silk which originally enclosed them. The box, covered with velvet and lace, was reclosed, bound with a white silk riband, and sealed by Bishop Walsh and Bishop Wiseman. An attestation of the above examination and description of the relics, dated 20 June, 1841, is in the handwriting of Bishop Wiseman. It is signed by Bishop Walsh, Bishop Wiseman and Bishop Kyle (of Scotland). The box of relics, that same evening, was given to the Rev. James Brown (now Bishop of Shrewsbury) and the Rev. James Moore (late President of Sedgley Park School), to take to Birmingham; where, the next day, being the Consecration-day of the new Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. Chad, they were placed over the High Altar; on the very day that the first Catholic Cathedral was consecrated since the Reformation. They are still kept at St. Chad's, in a reliquary placed under the baldachino and over the tabernacle of the High Altar. They are exposed for veneration on the Feast of St. Chad (March 2nd) and on the anniversary of the Dedication of the church, which is kept on the third Sunday of June, and is looked upon as the Feast of the Finding of the Relics.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kirk died at Lichfield in 1852, aged 92. He might therefore well have seen them when they were at Aston Hall,

at the close of the eighteenth or beginning of the present century.

From the above accounts of the Rev. Alban Butler and the Rev. Mr. Greaney we gather that, at the time of the Reformation, certain of the relics of St. Chad were rescued from the hands of the "Fidei Defensor" by a prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, of the noble family of Dudley.<sup>3</sup> He gave them for safe keeping to two ladies of his family, from whom they passed into the hands of two neighbours of theirs, Henry and William Hoodsheeds; the which Henry (moribundus) gave his share, then concealed on the top of his bed, to his priest, Turner by name; the remainder, which fell to the lot of William Hoodsheeds, not being now traceable. Father Turner dying in 1655, the first-named moiety of the relics passed into the keeping of "Dominus Leveson." We next hear of them, c. 1667, at Boscobel, a house of the Fitzherberts; and later, at their seat at Swinnerton, co. Stafford. About 1790, they followed the Fitzherberts to a new residence at Aston Hall near Stone. The priest in charge of the relics having died suddenly, their location was for a time unknown; but in 1837 Father Hulme discovered them in a box carefully concealed beneath the chapel altar. Their authenticity having been tested to the satisfaction of Bishop Walsh and Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, Pope Gregory XVI. granted permission for them to be exhibited for public veneration. They were lodged for a time at Oscott College; till, on the opening of the new Cathedral of St. Chad at Birmingham, in June, 1841, they were transferred to that church, where they still remain, enclosed in a rich reliquary over the High Altar.

To return to the MS. "Cantaria Sancti Blasii," we have

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Dudley appears in the list of Prebendaries in Harwood's History of Lichfield under the year 1531. In 1558, we meet with him again, now in the character of a custodian for the king (Edw. VI.) of certain church goods, seized by order of the Privy Council, in what Fuller calls "a gleaming in the stubble."

"Memorandum delyvered by the right honorable Water Vicount Hereford, Lorde Ferrers, and of Chartteley, Sir Edwarde Aston, Knight, and Edwarde Lytleton, Esquier, the Kinges Majesties Comissioners for Churchs goodes, to John Blythe, Arthur Dudley, and David Pole, Residents of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, ij Chalices of Sylver gylte with Patents, xij belles in ij stepples, vj

Clothes of dyaper for the table of tholly Communion, xxiiij olde guyssyons and a lecturne of brasse, savelly to be kept untill the Kinges Majesties pleasure be therein further knownen. In witness whereof as well the saide Comissioners as the foresaide residents have to theis presents indented interchaungeably put their hands, the xxixth daye of Aprill in the Seventhe yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Edwarde the Syxte.

"Per me JOHAN BLITHE.  
ARTHUR DUDLEY.  
DAVID POLE."

Indorsed: Minster of Lich.  
("Annals of Diocese of Lichfield," 1868, p. 68: from orig. in Pub. Rec. Office.)

already seen that this chantry was founded by Dean Heywode, who was in office from 1457 to 1493. Its situation is but vaguely indicated :—"Unam Cantariam Sancti Blasii martiris quasi ex opposito sedis Episcopalis situatam" (fol. 21<sup>a</sup>). The date of the foundation was 1466. Many gifts are bestowed by the Dean on this chapel. One of them consists of a missal, "cum literis capitalibus aureis. et unum calicem deauratum ponderantem xx<sup>ii</sup> uncias. tria vestimenta sacerdotalia. et alia ornamenta pro altari" &c. (fol. 22<sup>a</sup>). Again (fol. 32<sup>a</sup>), "Prefatus Decanus fieri fecit tabulam de Alabastur' sculptam cum historia Sancti Blasii episcopi et fecit eam poni in capella Sci Blasii pone altare. ubi perpetuam fundavit cantariam."

Our generous Dean further bestows on his Cathedral two new organs, one at the price of 26*l.*, the other 14*l.* The first is a large one and handsomely constructed, an offering in honour of St. Chad ; and placed "in pulpito"—which, I suppose, is an organ-loft.

"Magna organa in pulpito.

"Item cito post festum nativitatis Sci Johannis Baptiste. anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup> octogesimo secundo. ex providencia et sumptibus magistri Thome Heywode decani antedicti. conferuntur ecclesie cath' lich' organa nova magne quantitatis. et forme decentis. ad honorem sci cedde et ornamentum ecclesie. precij xxvi. li. iij.s. iiij.d. totaliter de sumptibus et expensis predicti decani. Sm<sup>a</sup> xxvj. li. iij.s. iiij.d.' (fol. 31<sup>a</sup>).

The smaller instrument, or "pair of organs," was placed in the "new building," over against the Jesus altar, and appropriated to the service of the Mass of Jesus, to be solemnised every Friday for ever.

"Organa de Ihū.

"Item predictus Decanus dedit unum novum par organorum ecclesie predicte. et stant in nova fabrica ex opposito altari Ihū ad deservendum in missa solempni de Ihū omni die Veneris in sempiternum. precii xij.li." (fol. 31<sup>a</sup>).

We have no account of any *nova fabrica* in the fifteenth century : the term, therefore, may apply to the last new building, the Presbytery of the fourteenth century ; for the epithet "new" constantly adheres to old work for a long period. We have New-Halls, New-Roads, New-Bridges of

considerable antiquity: even New-Castles as old as the Norman dynasty.

The Chapter-House appears to have largely shared the Dean's bounties. He filled the windows with painted glass, representing the Apostles, with other pictures above, and upon the walls; the vestibule (*introitus*) being also newly glazed. "*Item idem Decanus ex sumptibus suis propriis omnes fenestras domus capitularis fecit de novo vitriari cum apostolorum ymaginibus. et aliis picturis in summitate et supra muros. cum tabulatu ligneo sub et supra ut decet. cum vitriacione introitus de novo ad eandem. precii xlvj.li.*" (fol. 32<sup>a</sup>)

A "Chantry of Jesus and St. Anne" was founded in 1468, "*ex parte boriali ecclesie cath' predicte. cum gloriosa imagine Jhu Xpi. et cum imagine scē Anne ibidem eciam defixa*" (fol. 22<sup>b</sup>). Another entry (on folio 23<sup>b</sup>) records the gift of vestments and other decorations to this altar; and among the Vicars' Evidences, cited by Shaw (*Hist. of Staffordshire*, i. 304), is an indenture binding "the said vicarige, and each vicar in his course, to sing a mass in nomine Jesu et St. Anne, every Friday, with six sufficient lay vicars, and four quiristers, that are able to sing canticum organicum," in honour of "that worshipfull man, Mr. Dean Hawood," and in consideration of many benefits conferred by him: a "sufficient vicar also to say daily a mass in the name of St. John and St. Anne, the mother of Mary the Virgin, in the said dean's chapel, in the North ayle of the church." Among these benefits we find a grant of four marks, "to be paid to the Vicars at two terms, viz. the Invention of the Holy Crosse and at St. Martin, in the Quier, upon St. Chadd's tomb." Again: "Mr. Dean Haywood did buy from one John Palmer, for a sum of money, two pastures and two acres of arable, which he gave to the subchanter and body of vicars, to find two great waxen tapers, of 8 lb. weight each, to set about the sepulchre; to the Canon that sayeth the Requiem mass, 2*d.*, and to eight quiristers that sing there, 4*d.*" By another indenture the vicars "bind themselves, in liewe of a great sum of gould given them by that good Dean Haywood, to the new erecting of their common houses in the Close, to say and sing placebo, a dirige, and a mass of requiem, for the souls of his father and mother, yearly; and when *he* is dead, to do the

whole service of the day for him. \* \* \* And if these services or exequies be not performed by the vicars at all times as they should, the dean & chapter shall levy of the vicars' goods or livinge any way in lieue of a paine of xiii.s. and iii.d., to be bestowed on the fabricke of the church." Dated 1471. By another deed, a large amount of land is bestowed on the vicars by their generous benefactor, and a "Note of Delivery of Possession of said messuage and ground" tells how "the deane gave to many young children pence a piece, to remember the said delivery" (Shaw, 306).

Among the vicars' deeds of the same period, though not connected with Dean Heywode, we find copies of attachment issued from the Justices of the Peace of Staffordshire to the Prebendary Roger Belleter and his wife, and to William Dediall<sup>4</sup> and his wife, who withheld by strong head the vicars' land, ordering "by the king's express commandment that they be hanged on the next gallows without any triall" (Shaw, 306). In 1489 Dean Heywode gave forty pounds towards the erection of a library—"ad edificationem bibliothecae laterice iuxta domum Decani" (Ang. Sac., i. 454). This library was finished in the time of his successor, Dean Yotton. Its situation is shown in Browne Willis's plan of the Cathedral in 1727. It was taken down about 1750.

To return to our manuscript. On the verso of fol. 31 we find an entry showing that Dean Heywode gave to the cathedral a great bell, called the Jesus Bell—"maximam campanam vocatam vulgari Ih's belle." It was cast in London, and consecrated with great ceremony by Bishop Robert,<sup>5</sup> the suffragan of Bishop Hals, "cum melioribus cantatoribus ecclesie."

"Item antedictus magister Thomas Heywode Decanus dedit ecclesie Cath' Lich'. maximam campanam in campanili australi. londonijs conflata. per dominum Robertum Domini Johannis Hals episcopi suffraganeum consecrata et campanam Ihū per eundem vocata. Ad valorem in toto c.li."

<sup>4</sup> Or "of Ediall," a small hamlet near Lichfield, where Dr. Johnson kept a school, and from which he and Garrick set out together to seek their fortune in London—"I with half-a-crown in my pocket, and thou, Davy, with two-pence ha'penny in thine."

<sup>5</sup> We learn something more of Bishop

Robert at fol. 28a, where the ceremony of the sanctification of the bell in 1477 is described with some fulness. He is there named "Dñs Rob'tus Achaden' epc. et suffraganeus. dni. Johis divina gratia Covent' et Lich' ep'i." Achaden' signifies Achadensis, meaning Achonry in Ireland.



Around the bell was this inscription :—

"I am the bell of Jesus, and Edward is our king :  
Sir Thomas Heywode first caused me to ring."

"Sir" Thomas also provided for the ringing and care of the bell, at the rate of 13s. 4d. per annum.

"Item Sacrista pro pulsacione et tintinacione campane de Ihū ad predict' servicia omni die Veneris per annum percipiet xiiij s. iiij.d." (fol. 29<sup>a</sup>). Of this "tintinnation," see also fol. 26<sup>a</sup>,—"Necnon ante predictæ antiphonæ inchoacione bis. per intervallum competens. ipsam campanam tintinnabit seu tintinari faciet."

For many years there has been, and still is, in the central tower of our cathedral, a bell popularly called "the tantony bell." Antiquaries have learnedly speculated on its name. Some have referred it to St. Anthony, who is commonly represented holding a bell. Others derive from *tintinnabulum*. Do not *pulsatio* and *tintinnatio* mean ringing and tanging? In that case, our present tantony bears out the notion of tanging; for, being small, it can only be used in that manner; ringing being restricted, in campanological language, to the somersaults which a large bell is made to perform, in order to bring out its full sound. Of course a large bell can be either rung or tanged.

The "Jesus bell" of Dean Heywode remained in its place in our cathedral till the Civil Wars, when it was destroyed. Shaw, in his "History of Staffordshire," cites "an ancient writer," who notes the mishaps which have befallen those of the roundheads who had taken part in the destruction or injury of the churches. Among them was "one Pickins, a pewterer, who, on July 26, 1653, knoect in pieces the fair bell, called Jesus, at Lichfield, he being the chief officer appointed for demolishing that Cathedral" (p. 243).

We have by no means exhausted the list of benefits conferred by good Dean Heywode on his Cathedral, but enough has been said to show how much he had its welfare at heart, and to serve as an example of beneficence to ages of Deans to come. Our minster still contains a portion of Dean Heywode's tomb. The whole structure is figured in the 25th plate of Shaw's "Staffordshire." The Dean died in 1492, and was buried at the upper end of the south aisle, near the High Altar.

## Original Documents.

THE following document belonging to Mr. W. Packe has been kindly brought to the notice of the Institute by the intervention of Mr. Soden Smith. It appeared to be worthy placing on record as a contribution to local topography :—

Charter of Adam, Abbot of St. James's, Northampton. 1269—1274.

" Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam Abbas Sancti Jacobi de Norhamt' et conventus ejusdem loci dedimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Roberto Glazun et heredibus suis unam virgatam terre cum pertinenciis suis in campis de Brunt' sine ullo mesuagio in excambium unius dimidie virgate terre quam idem Robertus dedit nobis in campis de Harleston. Illam scilicet quam Henricus de Stokedal' tenuit et jacet per acras in campis eisdem. Tenendam et habendam dicto Roberto et heredibus suis vel cuicumque illam assignare voluerit quietam et solutam ab omnibus serviciis et exactionibus in perpetuum excepto forinseco servicio domini Regis. Et preterea concessimus eidem Roberto et heredibus suis vel cui assignare voluerit duas rodas terre in campis de Herleston unam scilicet desuper Foxendale et aliam super Whetehull quas Hugo de Upton aliquando tenuit. Concessimus eciam eidem Roberto et heredibus suis vel cui assignare voluerit fossuram turbarii annuatim dimidie diei et unius hominis in bruario de Herleston. Hanc autem predictam virgatam terre cum pertinciis suis et duas rodas terre predicto Roberto et heredibus suis vel cui assignare voluerit contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. His testibus, David de Esseby, Hamundo de Vieleston, Johanne de Chaunceiis, Willielmo de Stanton, Henrico de Bray, Petro de Tenchebray, Bartholomeo de Torp et multis aliis."

This is a deed poll with an oval seal of white wax defaced, but with traces of a full length figure, evidently ecclesiastical. The deed is in good preservation.

The Abbey of St. James, for Black Canons, was in the suburb of the town of Northampton, and in the parish of Duston. It was founded by William Peverel, who died in 1112-13. Adam de Keylmarsh was Abbot from 1269 to 1274, within which time therefore the deed was drawn up. Brunt' is, no doubt, Brinton, in which the Abbey held lands. Herleston or Harleston is an adjacent parish. Of the persons named Hamund de Vieleston occurs in the records of Harleston; De Chaunceiis, Chanceux, or Chauz, were lords of Upton, a manor of Harleston, in the reign of Henry III.; Staunton, Tenchebrai, Thorp, and Whetehill, are the names of local families; Henry de Bray was no doubt a cadet of the family of which, a few centuries later, Lord Bray was the representative.

G. T. C.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 5, 1875.

SIR SIBBALD D. SCOTT, BART., V. P., in the Chair.

SOME preliminary observations were made by the Chairman with reference to the new session of which this was the first meeting. The progress and condition of archæological knowledge generally were touched upon; the great success and pleasant cordiality of the past congress at Canterbury, and the excellent prospect of that in view for next year, with the many attractions of "Camalodunum" and its neighbourhood, which was virgin soil to the Institute, were then adverted to. The Chairman concluded by expressing his regret at the recent decease of Dr. Hook, the Venerable Dean of Chichester, an old and valued member of the Institute, whose contributions to its "Journal" were numerous, and of great importance and interest.

Mr. HENRY POOLE read "Notices of the Sepulchral Brasses and other Monuments in the Church of St. John, Margate."

"This church was built A.D. 1050, and contains some vestiges of Norman work. During the course of the recent alterations, rendered necessary by the increased population of the parish, some interesting monuments have been discovered, of which I propose to give some notices. Although when this important improvement was undertaken, it was believed that some monuments of interest formed part of the floor (and at least two of them are well known by the accurate illustrations of Mr. J. G. Waller in his work on 'Sepulchral Brasses'), yet it was not till the interior was cleared out that so many were found hidden, which had until then been unknown.

"A satisfactory arrangement has been made by which there are now displayed the monumental plates of about twenty worthies of Margate, nearly one half of which are effigies ranging from the early part of the fifteenth to that of the seventeenth century. The whole of the brass plates remaining, as well as the gravestones, had been subject to very rough usage from an early period. Many of the stones were broken and despoiled of their effigies, armorial shields and inscriptions. They were chiefly of Petworth and Bethersden marbles (the latter more especially were greatly disintegrated), and the plates of brass remaining were warped, dented and broken.

"After much consideration the Building Committee resolved on the removal of all the plates from the slabs, the refacing and reduction of the broken marble ledgers and their flattening and replacement in the various slabs where practicable, or in new slabs where the old were irrecoverably past repair. This has been carefully carried out, and the result is a floor near the chancel, which, with all this conservation, is hardly surpassed by any other in the county.

"One of the stones used as a gravestone was of black marble, and had been inscribed with small and irregular letters, and the names of several

persons. This, when first noticed, was among the rubbish in the church-yard, but on examination it was found to have been an altar, for the front and south end were wrought with the square above and chamfer below. It is now made to serve as a floor under the new altar table, after being refaced and polished. The next most important relic is a coffin-shaped stone, which seems to have originally lain above the floor, and probably was the cover of a stone coffin. It is apparently of Bethersden marble. The length is 6 ft. 5 in., the width at head 2 ft. 4 in., and at foot 1 ft. 4 in., with a thickness of 9 in. On the top is wrought a cross, being a plain shaft standing on a calvary, and having a head formed with a quatrefoil combined with a square placed diagonally. There has been a moulding around the edge, and the head of the cross may have been carved, but it has been subjected to so much wear that all traces of such details are gone. It is otherwise in good preservation.

"At the south-eastern angle of the sacrarium floor is placed the grave-stone of [Dominus] Thomas Smith, Vicar, 1433.' It is of Bethersden marble, and has an inscribed plate of brass surmounted by four other plates forming a heart with three labels. On the heart is engraved 'Credo quod,' and on the labels 'In carne mea videbo Salvatorem meum;' 'de terra resurrecturus sum;' 'Redemptor meus vivit,' referring no doubt to Romans x., 10, 'For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.' At the back of this plate was found an inscription beautifully engraved and almost perfect, as fresh as though it had been finished only yesterday. It seems never to have been used. It was probably a rejected plate, being shortened to suit its new use, the left hand end wanting about an inch. It bears the name of John Dalton and Alicia his wife. She died 1430, so that the plate was waiting to be used three years. A cast as well as a rubbing of it is taken, each of which shows the finest possible art of the engraver. The histories of Margate contain no name of Dalton. The Daltons' family place is Yorkshire and Lancashire; the name does not occur in Kent.

"At the north-eastern angle of the same floor is placed another similar slab containing the effigy of a priest in the usual habiliments, standing on a plate inscribed to [Sir] Thomas Cardiff, vicar, 1515. The position agrees with its ancient place. These are the only Brasses of ecclesiastics earlier than the end of the seventeenth century, and they bear the usual titles of 'Dominus' and 'Sir.'

"The earliest of the Brasses of civilians is that of Nicholas Canteys, 1431. It is, as the rubbing shows, beautifully drawn and engraved. He carries an anelace in his girdle, and his shoes are prettily ornamented with quatrefoils. He stands on a flowery mound with an inscribed plate beneath. This fine effigy (which is shown in Waller's work) was inlaid in a good Petworth marble slab, but the unoccupied part of the slab at the top had been appropriated by the family of—with an inscription to—one John Smith. He died in 1822, and his remains probably occupied the grave of his more ancient townsman, Nicholas Canteys, nearly four centuries earlier. As John Smith had been a benefactor to the Church, it furnished a fair reason for not ignoring the intrusive inscription, which was accordingly reproduced on a marble slab, now placed near the ancient

<sup>1</sup> A rubbing of this Brass was exhibited at the meeting held in July, 1874. See vol. xxi., p. 364.

grave. Adjoining is placed a Bethersden marble ledger containing the effigy of the skeleton of Richard Notfelde, 1446. Such a subject is of rare occurrence, and certainly its appearance here is repulsive, if not hideous. He stands on an inscribed plate. Nearly of the same date is the memorial of John Daundelyon, 1445. It contains the effigy of a knight in complete armour, and is in fine condition. The spurs and the blade of the sword are not original, and the northern half of the inscribed plate was made anew within the last forty years. The engraving thereon is incorrect, for the word 'Bentilman' is placed for 'Gentilman,' and there are probably other errors. The effigy has recently been made complete by the addition of half of the hilt of the sword, and of a small piece of the shoulder which had been broken away. This effigy is also engraved by Mr. Waller. Next is a small reduced slab of Bethersden marble, which was much broken, containing a good figure of one Peter Stone, a civilian, 1442, standing on an inscribed plate. These four gravestones form a group with their feet against the kneeling step of the sacrum. Westwards is placed a slab on which are two small effigies of John and Joan Parker, 1441; and by its side a ledger of gray sandstone, containing the effigy of a soldier, William Cleaybroke, 1638, also standing on a plate of brass and surmounted by a shield of arms. The only other of early date is a mutilated figure, the lower half of a lady, whose dress is very gracefully drawn. The companion male figure is wholly gone. The part left stood on half the old inscribed plate, but as the whole of the inscription is given in Cozens's 'Tour in the Isle of Thanet,' it was thought advisable to retain the interesting fragment and add anew the other half. This brass is that of John Sefowll and Lavinia his wife, 1475.

"One black marble gravestone is in memory of George Somner, a cavalry officer, whose eulogy is characteristic—

" Depositum

" Georgii Somneri generosi Cantuarensis  
 " natu, qui Turmæ equestris ductor strenue  
 " se gerens in conflictu Wiensi apud Cantianos  
 " globulo trajectus caput fortiter occubuit, haud  
 " minori cum Patriæ *fluctu*, quam sua cum laude  
 30 Maii A° 1648 Ætatis suæ 51."

There are two lines chiselled out at the bottom which probably contained some loyal expressions. This is the father of the author of Somner's 'Antiquities of Kent.'

"There is one other plate of Roger Morris, a master-mariner, 1615. Over it is a plate which, being very thin, was much damaged. This bears a capital engraving of a ship of war, having three masts and in full sail. The drawing is admirable, and may be taken as a correct representation of a ship of the early period of James I., or of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.

"There are seven other plates, none of which appear to have belonged to effigies. They are of the ordinary kind of inscription according to their dates, and with one exception are of little interest in themselves. They are as follows :—

"1582—Thomas Fliitt and his wife; 1599—Henry and John Pettit; 1583 and 1605—Alexander Norwoodd and his wife and son; 1605—William Norwod; 1600—Rachael Blowfeld; 1604—Thomas Cleeve

(long lost, but found in a box which the sextoness had charge of) ; 1613—Joan Parker.

“There are also four mural monuments of rather early date. Two of these belong to the Pettit family, which intermarried with the Daundelyon or Dent-de-lion, and became possessed of their important castle or mansion in Kent, a part of which exists, but is now used as a farmstead. This union of name was succeeded to in the female lines by the Cleeve and Somner families, who possessed the property, and some of them are interred and have memorials (some of which are before you) in Margate Church. There are two other monuments to the families of Cleaybroke and Crispe, who successively occupied Nash Court, in the adjoining parish of St. Peter. All these four monuments are of the best workmanship and of pleasing design. They consist chiefly of black and coloured marbles. They are in the Elizabethan and Jacobean styles, ranging from 1599 to 1661.

“The sepulchral brass plate that possesses the most interest is one that at the first appeared to be of an ordinary character. It is that of Thomas Fliitt and his wife, Elizabeth Twaytts. She died in 1582. He perhaps was not buried with her, for although his name precedes hers, there is no date to it. This plate was about to be flattened and inlaid into a proper slab like the others, but it was then discovered, on removing the pitch adhering to the back, to be a *palimpsest*, for thereon is engraved a border of vine leaves and grapes, through which runs a waved label with an inscription in black letter, forming compartments, in which shields of arms and pictorial subjects alternate. There is only one shield complete, semée of cross-crosslets buttoné and fitchée. It is charged with three casques, two and one. The base of another shield is visible, and shows a roundle. It is evidently only a fragment of a very large border, and bears on the label part of an inscription in Flemish. The words which are thought to be partly obsolete are

‘JAER ONS HEREN ALS MEN SCREEF,’

which may be translated, ‘*The year of our Lord as it is written.*’ The letters are bold and beautifully formed in a border of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide, the words being separated by quatrefoils large and small. The whole border is 9 in. wide, and is bounded on each side by a fillet half an inch wide, decorated with square quatrefoil work. Alternating with the shields are two subjects, the lower one being a young girl habited in a simple robe with a row of buttons from the neck to the skirt. Her shoes are acutely pointed. Her head is bare, but with flowing hair. She is playing in a vineyard catching butterflies, having caught one which she holds in her right hand, while in her left she holds the strings of her head-dress, with which she is trying to catch another butterfly which is at large. This figure is about three and a-half inches high. The other compartment contains two boys, each on stilts, playing together. The one on the right hand is thrusting at the other with his right foot, which he has withdrawn from the fork of his stilt, and with his right hand he is also thrusting the arm of his playfellow. Their heads are bare, and they are habited in short coats closely buttoned from top to bottom. These figures are four and a-half inches high in their stilts. The fields of all these compartments, being covered with vine leaves and grapes, are beautifully formed, arranged and out, and the

figures grouping with the foliage and fruit suggest that the scene is children playing in a vineyard.

"An examination of the engraving will show that it bears marks of a want of finish; for while the field of the fruit and foliage is cleanly and smoothly cut, the hatching of the field of the letters as well as the field of the shields is imperfect and unequal. Moreover, there do not appear to be any holes made for rivets; the holes that are in the plate belong to Fliitt's modern appropriation, and therefore the original plate may never have been inlaid or fixed in any way. The plate itself, which is cast latten, is in one part so thin that the first engraving where the word 'heren' is has caused a hole an inch square. These circumstances combined tend to a conclusion that the plate, being defective, was rejected by the original Flemish (?) artist, and after a lapse of time brought from the Low Countries as merchandise to England, and made as a memorial plate for Mrs. Fliitt. The field of the shield is hatched with lines slanting downward to the left. Is this to be taken as indication of colour, or was it intended to cross hatch it preparatory to enamelling it in colours, or black? It has been suggested that the figures may be intended to represent 'Infancy and Youth.' If so, they may be part of a series of 'The Seven Ages of Man.' The peculiar interest and the singular preservation of this curious engraving led the Vicar and the architect to the conclusion that it deserved to be conspicuously shown and made accessible to the parishioners and the public. It was, therefore, determined to place in the floor of the chancel a slab of fossil marble, and to engrave thereon a facsimile of the Fliitt inscription; and to secure the plate in a framework of oak, and then to hang it in some part of the church or vestry room, so that it can at all times be seen on both sides. It will be for those who are experienced in Flemish art to determine to what period or place the original work may have belonged. It may be conjectured to be at least a century earlier than its second appropriation. Perhaps the form of the shield and the dress of the children, which latter are not much unlike that of the effigies on the tomb of Edward III. at Westminster, may help to this end. Or can it be to any of the school of Albert Dürer that it belongs? The fine brass of Thomas de Topclyffe and his wife, as shown in Waller's work, the original of which is in Topclyffe Church, Yorkshire, 1391 (14 Rich. II.), which bears the appearance of Flemish work, is in its border and foliage not unlike that of the palimpsest."<sup>2</sup>

After some remarks by Mr. G. T. CLARK on the heraldry of the palimpsest, Mr. J. G. WALLER made some observations upon the fragment described by Mr. Poole, which he considered to be of late fifteenth century work, and represented the "Ages of Life," of which only one other illustration upon a Sepulchral Brass was known, and that was at Ypres in Belgium. The Brass of Nicholas Canteya, he thought, conveyed an attempt at portraiture, especially by the treatment of the long flowing beard.

Mr. B. H. COWPER then read "Notes on an entrenched Camp in Epping Eorest."

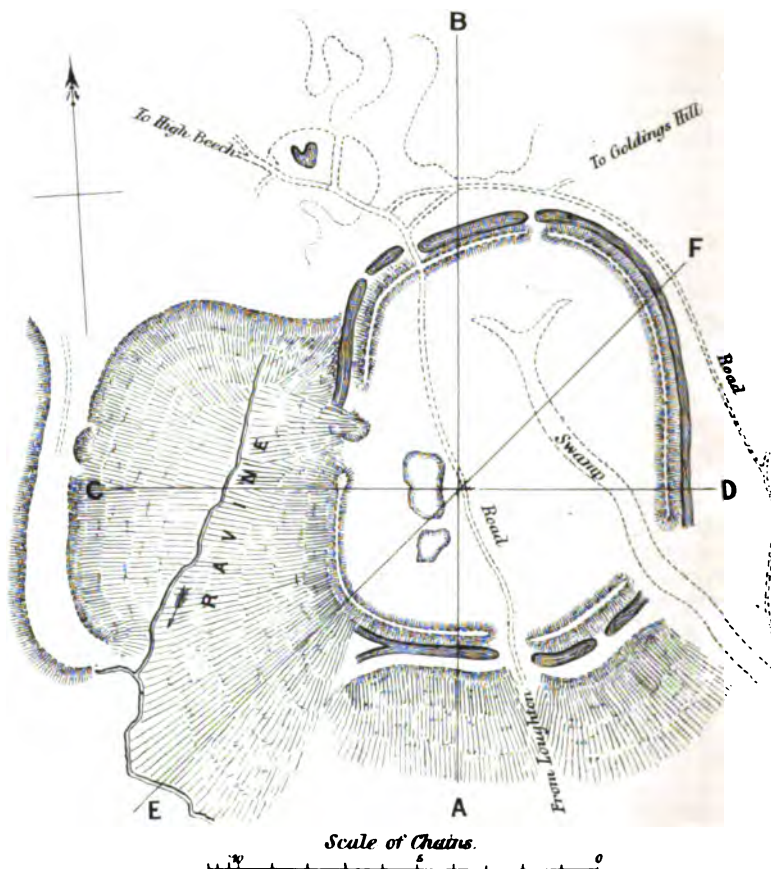
<sup>2</sup> In "Arch. Journ.," vol. iv., p. 362, is a notice of a palimpsest sepulchral brass to a member of the Dauntsey family (who died in 1463) in the church of West Lavington, Wilts, on which is part of an

inscription in the Dutch language, perhaps half a century earlier. At p. 160 of vol. v. are further observations on the same brass.

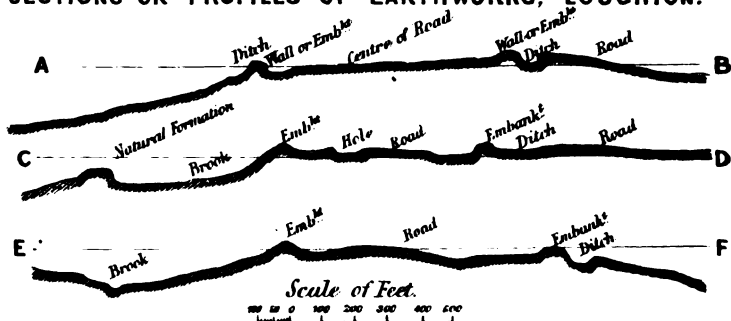




# EPPING FOREST ANCIENT EARTHWORKS LOUGHTON.



## SECTIONS OR PROFILES OF EARTHWORKS, LOUGHTON.



"In the summer of 1872 I made an excursion to Epping Forest, and selected Loughton as my starting point. On reaching some elevated ground which overlooks a deep valley stretching from the north-west to the south-east, I came upon what appeared to me at once as part of an ancient earthwork. I found on examination that an external trench inclosed an internal ridge running parallel with it, and that these took the course of a segment of a circle. At that season the trench, the ridge, and the interior space were not easy to investigate owing to the vegetation, but I saw that the trees were as old as others in the locality, and grew upon the earthworks just as they did everywhere else. This cursory survey of a portion was all that was then practicable, and the matter rested until on inquiry I found that no one seemed to know of any entrenchments thereabouts. Subsequently I mooted the matter in 'Notes and Queries,' but with no satisfactory result, inasmuch as it only led to references to Amesbury or Ambresbury Banks, a large and comparatively well-known earthwork of oblong form and early origin, in the Forest it is true, but over two miles to the north of this in the direction of Epping. It is curious, by the way, that there should be an encampment in Epping Forest with the same name as the town of Amesbury or Ambresbury in Wiltshire, though associated traditionally with the name of Boadicea.<sup>2</sup>

"During three years I could obtain no further clue, so some time ago I decided upon seeking for the Loughton entrenchment again. I went therefore, and this time sought the place from the Epping new road, or from the west. As I did not know the precise position, it was only with difficulty that I discovered it; in fact, not until I had mentally abandoned my task and concluded that the camp must have been a phantom

<sup>2</sup> The name Amesbury or Ambresbury is supposed to come from that of the British chief, M. A. Ambrosius, who lived about A.D. 500. The Wiltshire Amesbury has, however, in its Stonehenge and its Vespaasian's camp, monuments much older than that date. The Epping camp and entrenchments are no doubt older too.

Partly for convenience I have in these notes often called the Loughton earthworks a camp, but by so doing I do not wish to prejudge the question as to its precise intention. From extracts which I here append it is plain that the early Britons were fond of such a site for their town or *oppidum*, as Cæsar styles it, and it is equally plain that the town and the camp were so much alike as to be in ordinary times practically the same thing. If, however, our earthwork is the British counterpoise and contemporary of its neighbour nearer Epping, we may not only call it a camp, but look for other traces of warlike operations in the surrounding region. Not to speculate, I proceed to give two quotations from Cæsar, to which I add one from Strabo.

Cæsar shows that the Britons were wont to occupy such positions for defence

as that to which the above notes refer. He says, "*Repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdidērunt, locum nacti, egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ jam ante præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi,*" &c. — "*Bell. Gall.,*" 5, 9.

Again, in Chap. xxi. of the same book, he says that the town of Cassivelaunus was defended by marshes and woods, adding, "*Oppidum autem Britannici vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt quo incursiones hostium vitandæ causa convenire consueverunt.*"

Strabo, in his account of the Britons, whom, like Cicero,\* he calls very ignorant, says, "*πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ δρυμοὶ περιφράξαντες γὰρ δένδρεσι καταβε βλημένοις εὐρυχωρῇ κύκλον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐγκαίθη καλυβοιοῦνται, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύουσιν οὐ πρὸς πολλὸν χρόνον.*" — Bk. 4, c. 3. "Their cities are the forests; for fencing them with trees cut down in a broad circle here and there they pitch their tents and station their cattle for no long time."

\* See especially "*Epist. ad Attic.,*" 4, 16, and "*De Nat. Deor.,*" 2, 34.

after all. It was no phantom, however, and I traced the lines of the embankment and trench for a considerable distance. This was all I could do on the occasion of my second visit, except that I took note of the exact locality. Since then I have been several times and have succeeded in tracing the entire circumference, and in obtaining other details.

"As for the situation of this extensive earthwork, let me endeavour to define it as accurately as I can. On the new road to Epping, after passing Fairmead Lodge on the left, we come to the Robin Hood public-house, beyond which at the distance of half a mile is a broad open space or riding, where the Forest is entered through a recent cutting on the right. At the end of this cutting I one day picked up a small flint flake, which to me appears of interest enough to justify its being brought here for inspection, one end of it being accurately shaped and rounded, and sharpened with a fine saw-like edge. Well, before you reach the opening referred to you see a deep valley on your right running towards the south-east; and rising above it a high ridge. About the centre of this ridge is a wood-crowned height more prominent than the rest, a sort of promontory. That is the site of the ancient camp, and though less elevated than High Beech on the left (the west), it is lofty enough to overlook a wide range of country in the direction of the Thames. A forest track leads to the very interior of the entrenchment from the high road, though a stranger might fail to follow it.

"Now for the earthwork. It is, generally speaking, and in default of measurements, a large enclosure of perhaps half a mile in circuit. The northern semicircle comprises a trench and bank reaching from a small natural valley in the east or south-east to a steep slope on the opposite side, where the work is apparently obliterated. The little valley, by which the interior plateau is drained, seems to have been left open for communication with the great gorge below and the country beyond.<sup>3</sup> At one point on the northern curve there is an old entrance, and further west on the same side there is another entrance, which is still used as a driftway. Still on the same side the ground has been honeycombed with pits, which are ancient as shown by the trees round about, and which will, I hope, be included in any competent survey of the locality.<sup>4</sup> To the north-west and west there are numerous other minor diggings on and about the lines of the work, but many of these seem to have been the work of men seeking to unearth the foxes which, as I have seen, still linger about the hill. A forest road sweeps in a great curve round a large part of the northern segment of the circle. The space inclosed is dotted over with trees and bushes, and in summer there is a considerable undergrowth of ferns, &c. Trees and bushes grow all round, or almost all round the circular lines.

<sup>3</sup> The physical features of this part of the forest well deserve the study of the geologist, who may perhaps conjecture where the water came from which formed the hills and valleys here showing the effects of its enormous force.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot persuade myself that these are ordinary gravel or sand pits, as I am unable to guess what could be done with the materials in this neighbourhood at

the remote date to which these pits must be referred. The adjacent plain is, I know, called Sandpit Plain, but I think that is a modern explanation. In the same way we have the name of Turpin's Cave applied to a hollow part on the south-west of this very hill, though probably Turpin never saw it, and as for the cave, a native said to me when I asked him for it, "There never war any."

"The southern segment can be traced with little interruption from the little valley to the obliterated part. Near the centre of this half a way leads through the entrenchment down the hill. Near this part the face of the hill is much cut and scored, and requires to be further examined. Part of the glacis is quite smooth and steep. Wherever the earthwork runs along the crest of the hill, and a common trench is impracticable, a sort of groove has been cut, but a slight ridge is generally to be traced above it."

"So much for the camp. I have traversed the plain to the north without finding any entrenchments beyond the pits I have mentioned," but something may yet be discovered. The northern plain terminates with a rapid descent to a watercourse, and in a similar manner on the east. On the east of the earthwork, I am told, there is an oval mound of some extent, but I have not been able to find one at present. I have observed traces of work on that side, but I cannot compare them with any ancient tumulus or earthwork that I have seen, and should explain them as something very different."

"I will not further detain you, but thank you for allowing me to invite your attention to one of the most ancient monuments near this metropolis, and one, which even if known at all, has remained unchronicled. Even the Ordnance Survey Map, and that of the Epping Forest Commission, issued in a Blue Book this year, do not indicate its existence." The practical work of surveying and making a plan of the earthwork and its surroundings still remains to be done; but I commend that work to those who are competent to deal with it, and who, I think, will not leave it long undone."

Mr. G. T. CLARK spoke upon the general character of the earthwork reported upon for the first time, as far as he knew, by Mr. Cowper. The low parts of Essex were especially open to invasion in early times, but no thorough examination had been made of their vestiges. The Ordnance Map for that district was an early one, and was deficient in respect of such remains.

The flints exhibited by Mr. Cowper were generally considered to be of very doubtful antiquity. Mr. TREGELLAS also added some remarks upon the subject, comparing the camp at Loughton, as in some respects resembling that at Wimbledon, now almost destroyed.

<sup>6</sup> During the summer months the vegetation on great part of the circular lines is such that it is not easy to follow them throughout, and impossible to see all that one wants. The best time for explorers will therefore be in winter or very early spring.

<sup>7</sup> There is a fine beech wood here called Little Monks' Wood (Great Monks' Wood being further north). It is very solitary, and surrounds a nearly square open space. On one of the beech trees on the further side some passionate pilgrim has carved in large letters the name of "Angelina," which inscription, though not very ancient now, will we hope be so some day.

<sup>8</sup> They are possibly ancient drift ways

for getting timber down the hill, and are partly due to wear and tear. Some of them are curious, but they all point to the old high road at the top of an easy ascent a little beyond the brooklet.

<sup>9</sup> P.S. Since this was written I have had placed in my hands a perfectly new map of Epping Forest, which has just been prepared for the Corporation of London by Mr. W. D'Oyley, of Loughton. This gentleman, to whom I owe the allusion to the supposed mound or tumulus, has been diligent in his explorations, and has introduced into his map the ancient earthwork which has occupied our attention, and of which he has kindly supplied the tracing for the accompanying illustration.

**Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.**

By Mr. HENRY POOLE.—Various rubbings of Sepulchral Brasses in St. John's Church, Margate.

By Sir G. GILBERT SCOTT, F.S.A., &c.—Drawings illustrating recent discoveries among the ancient domestic buildings of Westminster Abbey. Some observations upon these discoveries were kindly promised by Mr. Mickelthwaite, F.S.A. (Printed at p. 15.)

Mr. J. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—A bronze hand-warmer, inlaid with silver, said to have been used by the Shahs of Persia, but the workmanship has a decidedly Burmese character. This beautiful object was brought to this country from the Corot Collection in Paris, having been previously in that of Prince Polignac. The iron enclosed for the purpose of heating was with it when in the Corot Collection. The form of the object differs from the usual calefactory *pommes*, being oblong; and attached to it is a chain by which it might be carried by an attendant, and to which is appended a small instrument for opening the outer case.

By Mr. CORBET.—Two flint arrow-heads and knife, found in Derbyshire.

By Mr. F. H. FOWLER.—Sword found in digging the foundations of the New National Opera House on the banks of the Thames, at a depth of thirty feet from the present surface. The spot was not far from the site of the ancient Staple, at Westminster, and the water-gate of the ancient palace. This fine weapon, of which an illustration is given, is doubtless the sword of a German *lansquenet*, and early in the sixteenth century. It had been probably broken and ground down, as the fluting does not usually (as in the present case) run to the point of the sword. The pommel appears to have been richly gilt, of which there are several remains. In Auguste Demmin's "Weapons of War" (p. 384) is the representation of a very similar sword, described as being in the Museum at Carlsruhe, and as having "the double guard, hilt and pommel of iron, with copper mountings."

By Mr. W. H. TREGELLAS.—A flint celt, found on the Lizard Downs, Cornwall: Romano-British relics found on Cock-crow Hill, Thames Ditton. Mr. Jope Rogers drew attention to the flint celt, as being a remarkable discovery in that spot. It had been presented to the Museum of the Royal Institute of Cornwall at Truro.

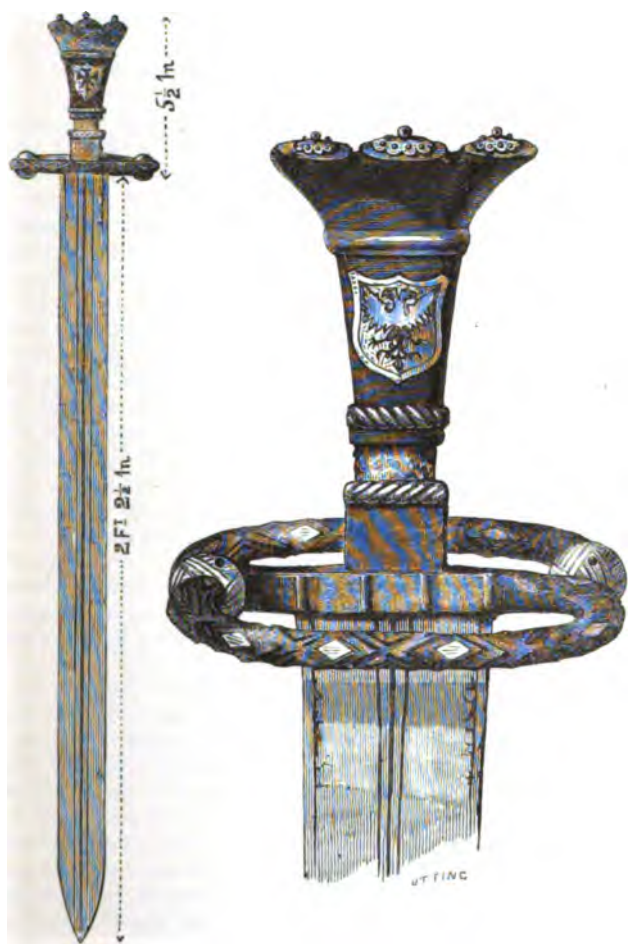
By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A German cross-bow bolt, for the chase; three military cross-bow bolts, German, fifteenth century; a wheel-lock rifle, with the arms of Kress of Kressenstein engraved on a mother-of-pearl disk inserted in the butt. They had been recognised by being found upon the binding of a Bible with the name.

By Mrs. ALEXANDER KERR.—Bronze (?) nails and fibula found in an Etruscan tomb at Orvieto; fac-simile of a Roman ticket of admission to an amphitheatre.

December 3, 1875.

OCTAVIUS S. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., in the chair.

The Hon. W. O. STANLEY contributed notices of the "Excavation of a Tumulus at Porth Dafarch, Holyhead, and discovery of an ancient fireplace with bones of animals and Pottery."



Sword found on the bank of the Thames, at Westminster.



"In the month of October, 1848, near the seashore of the wildly picturesque bay of Porth Dafarch, situated about three miles from the town of Holyhead on the west coast, a small tumulus was accidentally discovered containing the remains of four cinerary urns with burnt bones. The very interesting particulars relating to this discovery were fully described by me in a memoir to be found in vol. vi. of the 'Archæological Journal,' p. 226. I then observed that in the neighbourhood of the spot where the urns were found, 'there are several green mounds which have the appearance of being sepulchral, but the sand has drifted much, and formed round heaps over portions of rock.' I had always intended to have these mounds examined when my cousin, Albert Way, was with me, but it was delayed from year to year. About a week ago my attention was again called to the locality by the following circumstance, and I would suggest to all who take an interest in the matter to read over the article before mentioned in vol. vi. of the 'Archæological Journal' with the frontispiece, which gives a fair representation of the bay, and the spot where the urns were found on the 5th of October last, as the contractors for the works at the old harbour were carting away by my permission the bank of sand-drift from amongst the rocks on Porth Dafarch farm. At a depth of about 3 ft. from the surface a stratum of burnt black substance was discovered, commencing at about 40 ft. from a large overhanging rock, at which the sand drift terminates. This stratum when first opened was only a few inches thick, but gradually increased to 3 ft. in depth as it approached near to the rock. At the centre of the semicircle, which the deposit formed from the face of the rock, there was the appearance of the heat having been intense. The black deposit was much intermixed with small boulder stone from the beach, and a few feet from the centre with pieces of charcoal, portions of red deer horns of large size, and with other bones broken as if to extract the marrow, a tusk of a boar and fragments of pottery, one piece of ornamented polished red Samian ware, a large bronze brooch and pieces of two rings of bronze. All these things seemed to have been cast aside out of the reach of the fire.

"There was 6 ft. of drift sand under the fire and black deposit, so that if we suppose the fire to have been used there 1800 years ago, and since that time only 3 ft. had accumulated on the spot, we have some data for considering how many centuries it must have taken to form the 6 ft. below. A few days later the tenant Roberts found a bronze brooch and portions of bronze rings ornamented with ribs. Finding these traces of occupation by the early inhabitants, I proceeded to have one of the green mounds before mentioned excavated. We selected one of the most promising, the centre one of three, close to the road, on the left hand, leading from Holyhead, just above the spot where the urns were found in 1848; from a few large stones projecting from the surface at the top of the tumulus we hoped to find that it denoted some sepulchral interments. A trench was made from north to south across the top of the mound; the large stones were removed; the uppermost one was a rough flat stone resting upon an upright one about 3 ft. long sunk in the soil or sand, and several other large stones were near, which apparently had formed a rude cist for the protection of an urn or urns. From the appearances there was little doubt that the tumulus had been opened at some former time, but by unskilful hands. As the green sward was firm it



must have been many years ago, as it takes a long time to re-form a green sward upon the sand. The tumulus was composed of sand mixed with seashore pebbles, numerous fragments of bones—by the teeth and appearance those of red deer, fragments of pottery, red and black, portions of small urns, very similar to those found in the graves at Pen y Bonc in 1869 (see Arch. Journ., vol. xxvi., p. 307). It was evident from the various fragments that several urns must have been found and broken by the unskilful excavators of former times. Under the large stones or supposed cist was found a bone needle, ornamented with a lozenge pattern, about 5 in. long. It had been broken at the small end, where it had been perforated to take the sinew or thread, and had probably been used to sew up the bones after cremation in some cloth or other substance—these needles or pins are so frequently found with urn burials.

“About the centre of the excavation, and about 4 ft. from the surface, we came upon a fire-place formed of four stones, and one at the bottom about 2 ft. square, and the same depth. It contained nothing; we found but 9 in. of clay burnt to a red brick, and scoræ of some sort, such as is found in brick kilns from the melting of the sand under great heat. It is probable if the whole mound was removed that other burials may be discovered. At some future time I will continue the research.

“It would appear probable that this secluded bay was selected as a burial place for the principal inhabitants in early times, when cremation was used; and the sandy nature of the mounds forming natural tumuli presented every facility for the deposition of the urns. The remains above, where fires had been made with the fragments of bones of deer, pigs, pieces of pottery, we may reasonably consider to have been for the feasts which always formed part of the ceremony at funerals. Proximity to the seashore or running water, if we believe the early races to have migrated from the East, forms still another link-like chain, that binds the East and West together. The Brahmin ever seeks the water-side for his funeral pile. When cremation ceased, and the dead were buried in stone cists, the same facility of interment in sand prompted the natives to deposit the dead as we find them in the singular sand mound at Towyn y Capel, as described in the Arch. Journ., 1846, vol. iii., p. 223. There the bodies were buried in a superb stone coffin or cist, formed of flat slabs of the schist rock, deposited first on the surface of the common in regular rows placed east and west, then covered with sand as they were deposited, then another and another layer of coffins placed upon them until they formed a mound of 30 ft. in height, forming a large conical mound, at last crowned (perhaps in the sixth century) by a chapel dedicated to St. Fraid or Bridget.

“Now that the sea and depredations of man have entirely demolished the mounds, we have been enabled to correct a previous wrong impression that the graves radiated to the centre. They are found to have been all placed the same way, the heads to the west parallel to each other.”

It may be mentioned that subsequent excavations have been made, the results of which will be given.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., read “Notes on the Abbey Buildings of Westminster,” which had been prepared in consequence of recent discoveries there, and which had been illustrated by drawings by Sir



**Bone needle, fragments of pottery, and pierced tip of deer's horn, found at Porth Dafarch.**



Gilbert Scott, exhibited at the last meeting, and reserved for Mr. Micklethwaite's observations. This interesting communication, upon which many observations were made by the Chairman and others, is printed at p. 15.

The Rev. MACKENZIE WALCOTT, M.A., gave an account of recent explorations at the monastery of Cleeve, Somerset, made at the expense of Mr. Luttrell, of Dunster. The work had occupied two months and a half, and had been productive of very interesting results in opening up the ruins of the single Cistercian establishment in the county. The whole ground-plan of the monastery had been clearly made out, and the buildings themselves had escaped the too common fate of such structures of being turned to account as a quarry, the only injury they had suffered having been incidental to their occupation for the purposes of agriculture. Mr. Walcott, who is preparing a full account of the excavations and their results for the Somersetshire Archæological Society's proceedings, gave a full report of the work. The subject of the encaustic tiles with which the church had been paved was the principal point in his discourse on the present occasion. The variety in the decorations of these tiles was considerable, and they were said to comprise all those given in the Bristol volume, together with eight additional shields, upon which the Institute may hope to have some further observations from Mr. Walcott's pen."

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CHAIRMAN.—A French silver wine-taster's cup in form of a small flat bowl,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter, and 1 in. deep, with handle in form of a serpent. The interior is ornamented with small flutes, and at the bottom is a medallion of Louis XV. Round the outside is engraved the name I. PAFRALLEEF, probably that of the owner; and it is also stamped with a D crowned, possibly the maker's mark, and also A beneath a royal crown, the Parisian date mark, which may indicate 1763 or 1743, probably the latter; the head of the king is that of a young man;—A New England shilling. On one side a tree (of liberty?) with the legend MASATHVSETS.IN, and on the other NEW.ENG. 1652. XII. The first real discovery was in 1602, and in 1614 Captain John Smith explored the coast, and sent such accounts home that Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., gave it the name of New England. Many Puritans emigrated from England, and, obtaining a grant of land, set sail in 1620;—Barnacle case of carved box wood for holding two pair. Early seventeenth century. This was in the Debruge collection in Paris, and afterwards in the Bernal collection. Probably Italian;—Fish skin case containing two pair of barnacles. The early form of spectacles. Beginning of eighteenth century.—Cover of an ancient hornbook. The leather back ornamented with the figure of a Pelican, once silvered. Found in the wall of a very old house.

By the DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.—A "Register" of the Vestments and articles for ecclesiastical use belonging to the Abbey of Westminster made under the administration of Nicholas Litlington, whose Abbacy was very distinguished. The date of the register, which is finely

\* See the Bristol volume, p. 262, for "Notices of decorative pavement tiles, especially those with Heraldic bearings,

existing in churches in Somersetshire," by Lewis Way, Esq.

written, with rubricated titles, is June 30, 1388. Nothing is known of the circumstances under which the volume had migrated to Canterbury, but it is incorrectly described in Todd's catalogue of the library there, and its real nature was not understood till lately. The MS. is of great importance as showing the many valuable and interesting articles possessed by the great Benedictine house at the most magnificent period of its mediæval history.

By the Hon. W. OWEN STANLEY.—Objects found in a tumulus at Porth Dafarch.—A bone needle; fragments of urns; teeth and bones; agate flakes; burnt clay from small square cist; slag from ditto. From the fire-place: a boar's tusk; a small tooth; pierced deer horn tip; stone with hole; polishing stone; two small do.; ornamented Samian pottery, fragment; bones; various.

The enumeration of these objects, some of which are shown in the accompanying illustration, has been given with a precision that seemed specially necessary on account of several of them having been lost *in transitu* on their return after exhibition.

By Sir J. C. JERVOISE, Bart. A stone quern, of early form, found in a chalk pit close to Idsworth, Hampshire, in a hole 4 ft. deep. It is probably of the stone known as "Marm Rock"; some "pot-boiler" stones, similar to those previously contributed by Sir Jervoise; a flint celt, an earthenware grater, and a bronze ring found at Idsworth. The latter was a simple circuit of metal with good *patina*, but with no characteristics indicating its date.

By Mr. J. STEPHENS.—"The paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels." A fine copy of this work, printed in black letter by Whitchurch, of London in the reign of Edward VI.

### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

NENIA CORNUBIÆ, by WILLIAM COPPLAND BORLASE, B.A., F.S.A. Longmans, London; and Netherton, Truro, 1873.

THE fear lest there will only be a comparatively scanty harvest for future antiquarians in this country, and that antiquarians themselves will be less numerous amongst the rising generation, is one that must often cross the mind of elderly and middle-aged Fellows and Members of those Societies which devote their energies to the study of antiquities. But the volume before us is a striking illustration of the fact that much yet remains to be gathered, and gleaned, even amongst those fields which have already yielded fruitful harvests to such men as the early historian of the antiquities of Cornwall, Dr. Borlase, and to the learned Societies which, both in times long past and comparatively recent, have recorded the results of antiquarian research in the country of the Cornwealhas. Mr. W. C. Borlase, who modestly describes himself as a young antiquary, but who is a most worthy and indefatigable representative of his illustrious ancestor, has pursued his investigations *in situ* into the vestiges of early habitations in Cornwall<sup>1</sup> with many interesting results, not the least of which have been to demonstrate the superiority of civilization attained by the dwellers in the stone huts and circles to what has often been attributed to them, and also the probability that, at least in Cornwall, the occupation of these rude abodes continued during "Romano-British" times; and that some of the cairns belong to the same period.

The volume before us is devoted to the latter branch of this interesting subject, and is well worthy of the attention of those who acknowledge the importance of fixing an approximate date to these early remains. Mr. Borlase has personally and thoroughly examined most of the cromlechs, kist-vaens, tumuli, circles, &c., which he describes with minute care and illustrates profusely with views, plans and sections: a few of the illustrations are perhaps a little coarse in their execution, but they have the prime merit of being characteristic representations. Among the most interesting of these may be named the Trethevy, Pawton, Zennor, Chywoone and Chapel Euny cromlechs (the last being still partially covered with earth); the encircled rock-graves of Trescaw, Trewavas and Karmenezel; and the remarkable urns, bowls and cups from Durval, Trevello, Kerris Vaen and Denzell.

The perusal of the closely-reasoned chapter (p. 253) on "The Age of the Monuments" will amply repay the reader: the following extract from it being of especial interest, as summarizing the finds of Roman coins in Cornwall:—

<sup>1</sup> See a paper read at the Exeter Congress of the Royal Archaeological Insti-

tute at Exeter, and printed in vol. xxx. p. 334 of this Journal.

"The proportion in which coins of the several Roman Emperors and tyrants have been found in Cornwall does not materially differ from that of other parts of England. Stray coins of the earlier Emperors *have* been found, but these are few and far between. With the age of the Antonines the proportion greatly increases, but it is not until the middle of the third century that they appear in any considerable quantities."

Mr. Borlase seems to have successfully established the positions which he takes at p. 266, viz., that Cornwall was not a populous country until the time when it was inhabited by a people among whom cremation prevailed; and that those burials which he describes as showing no traces of cremation took place not long before the contact of the Celt with the Roman.

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THE OLD DERBY CHINA FACTORY; THE WORKMEN AND THEIR PRODUCTIONS, by JOHN HASLEM. George Bell & Sons, 1876.

CONSIDERABLE interest has lately been aroused upon the subject of English china made in the last century. This is chiefly owing to the enormous, we might almost say, ridiculous, prices which have been given at auctions during the last few years for unique specimens, even when they had not any claim to beauty in an artistic sense. A popular taste always creates a demand for books on the subject; and with regard to Derby china this demand has been efficiently supplied by Mr. John Haslem, himself for thirteen years a painter at the Works. The book is not only an exhaustive treatise on the subject, but is interesting from the simple, natural way in which the author has recounted the lives of the different men connected with the factory, thereby throwing much light upon the various styles of the china produced. It is, of course, impossible in a short review to enter into such details as would be of any use to those unacquainted with the subject: indeed, perhaps the most acceptable notice of the book would be merely to give an idea of its contents. After the introduction there is a chapter upon the general history of the Derby manufactory, from its establishment in the middle of the eighteenth century until the Works were finally closed in 1848. Next there is an account of the painters, gilders and figure-modellers employed, giving such particulars of their lives and work as Mr. Haslem has been able to collect. There is a list of upwards of four hundred groups and single figures produced at the manufactory, with the prices charged for them, and a very clear account of all the marks and imitation marks known to have been used in the Works. The frontispiece contains facsimiles of thirty-one of these marks in gold and colour, and the notes on them will be found useful to collectors. There are eleven chromo-lithograph plates copied from old pattern books. They will probably serve to identify many cups and saucers in out-of-the-way parts of the world whose possessors only know them to be old family relics. There is a short account of the Pinxton Factory, which was started in 1796 by Mr. John Coke and Billingsley, the celebrated Derby painter, with a mention of the ingredients used in that ware and the Nantgarw "body," so justly admired and now so scarce. This book concludes with a capital index.

## SOME HISTORICAL NOTES OF DARTFORD.

MR. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A., has reprinted from the *Dartford Chronicle* a very pleasant little volume of local sketches. It includes notices of Eltham, Stone, Darenth, Southfleet, Crayford and its battle, the Archbishop's Palace at Otford, Eynsford Castle, Cowling, Greenhithe and many other places, besides epitaphs, original deeds, an article on Kentish proverbs and one on monumental brasses. Such a book will be very useful to archæologists who visit Kent, as it is small enough to be carried conveniently. There are full page wood-cuts of Cowling Castle, Dartford Priory and an almshouse at Greenhithe, as well as a vignette of Hadleigh, on the opposite coast of Essex, all which deserve a word of praise.



## Archæological Intelligence.

MR. J. E. LEE, of Torquay, well known to our readers for his able contributions to Archæological literature, and especially for those relating to the curious discoveries connected with the Lake-dwellings in Switzerland, has favoured us with a copy of the *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung* giving an account of the recent discovery of a family grave connected with one of those settlements, a translation of which is subjoined :—

“The Pfahlbaugräber in Auvernier, near Neuenburg.

“Notwithstanding that, thanks to the assiduous efforts of antiquarians, great progress has been made in the knowledge of the customs of that people who have for many centuries lived in great numbers in the creeks of our beautiful lakes ; it has always remained a mystery where and in what manner they buried their dead. As in ancient times it was the general custom to inter the dead, many thought these people had also done so, others asserted on the contrary that the bodies were burnt, while again others were of the opinion that the corpses were simply sunk in the lakes. Against the first supposition it might be contended that neither near their homes, on the borders of the lakes, nor on the summit or inclines of the hills can be found any graves, whose contents show that their occupants were of such high antiquity. With regard to the theory of burning, it is sufficient to say that some remains would exist of the place and the bones, neither of which can be found. That the dead were not thrown into the lakes is proved by the fact that at many places, as for instance Luscherz and Mohringen, the lake has been explored to the bottom, and no traces of human bodies have been discovered. The only supposition that remained was, that these people consigned their dead to the depths of the lakes, but as this kind of burial is generally very repulsive to human nature, this suggestion did not meet with much favour. On the 23rd of January last between Auvernier and Colombia, where two settlements of this people have been found, one belonging to the stone age the other to the bronze age, a highly interesting discovery was made. A gentleman named Chautuns had the foundation for a house dug out in his vineyard, which was separated from the lake by a street, which leads through Colombia to Auvernier, and the workmen after penetrating  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres below the surface discovered two large, flat slabs of granite, and under these a catacomb, which was enclosed by huge blocks of stone placed upright. In this place were found the remains of a large number of human bodies, at least ten or twelve skeletons. Two skulls were in a good state of preservation, and there were several remains of others which might easily be put together. The skulls are without exception found in the corners of the catacomb, the remaining bones in the middle. As the above-

mentioned chamber is about 1.55 metres long and 1 broad, it is probable that the bodies were buried either in a sitting or a crouching posture. Fortunately some other remains have been found with these skeletons from which one can form an opinion of the age and the race of these bodies. The remains are :—A large bear's tooth, bored through the root ; a wolf's tooth ; half of a boar's tooth (?) a smooth, round, thin disk, 3 centimetres in diameter ; a long hatchet, made of stone, 9½ centimetres ; a smaller damaged hatchet, also made of stone ; a bronze spinning needle ; a bronze peg, 16 centimetres long ; a little copper ring ; four children's bracelets, made of bronze ; a bronze button. All these objects have a hole bored through them.

"With regard to the time to which these remains belong, it appears to be the transition state of the stone to the bronze age, or to speak more correctly the time when bronze came into use together with stone and bones. As both the settlements found in Auvergnier belong to the bronze age and are exactly opposite the graves, it is most probable, that the people belonging to them were buried in the newly-found chamber. At the same time it may be mentioned that this was probably a family burial place, in which the different members were interred, which would account for the confusion of the bones. There is little doubt but this place belongs to the same time as the settlement on the Ebersberg, near Berg, on the Trochel, and also the graves discovered by Dr. Lindenschmidt near Mousheim, in Rheinheffen. We are indebted to Dr. Gross of Neuerstadt on the Vielersee for this highly interesting discovery, of which in the future, no doubt, more will be learnt."

Mr. J. H. Parker is continuing his series of "Historical Photographs of Rome," which is now extended to No. 3319. Any of these can be purchased for one shilling each of Stanford, at Charing Cross, where a descriptive list, with number attached, can be seen.

An addition to the local Archæological Societies is proposed by the formation of a Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. The compilers of the Prospectus have had an easy task in drawing attention to the many claims such a Society has upon the inhabitants of the district and archæologists generally, and it is with the greatest cordiality that the Council of the Institute hail this addition to the list of such Societies, and offer it their best wishes for its success.

M. Fol is publishing a "Catalogue Raisonnée" of the Museum of Antiquities formed by himself, and lately presented by him to his native city, Geneva. The Museum is well known to visitors as containing some well-selected specimens in every branch of classical antiquities, and the Catalogue will doubtless much contribute to its popularity and usefulness.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, who has made many contributions to Anglo-Roman archæology, has lately brought before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire a proposal to excavate the sites of the two principal Roman stations at Lancaster and Ribchester. In the course of his observations Mr. Watkin said, "At both of these sites the interesting inscriptions which have been found, and the immense foundations still existing, and in some cases appearing above the surface, fully justify the opinion that most interesting discoveries would be the result of excavations. But how is this result to be obtained ? It is by combined effort and developed organisation, by systematic research and scientific exploration, by popular interest and awakened zeal . . . Temples

and altars, streets and villas, valuable inscriptions and interesting works of art, are amongst the spoils that lie buried there. Are these to be left to be destroyed by the ignorant, or for ever hidden beneath the soil?" Mr. Watkin suggested an appeal to the county generally under the auspices of the Society, with the view of obtaining a fund for the purpose of the proposed excavations. The proposal was very warmly received, and will, we trust, be strongly supported at the Council Meeting.

It is proposed to publish, in demy octavo, price, to subscribers, 12s. 6d., non-subscribers, 15s., "A Translation of the Record called Domesday, so far as relates to the county of York," by Robert H. Skaife (Editor of "Kirkby's Inquest for Yorkshire," etc., published by the Surtees Society in 1867). A work under the above title, edited by the Rev. William Bawdwen, originally appeared in 1808, but it contains numerous errors, and nearly one-fourth of the places mentioned in the "Record" are not identified. In the Translation now proposed, an attempt will be made to correct the errors and to supply the deficiencies of Bawdwen's text. It will be illustrated by copious biographical and topographical notes, and full indices to the names of persons and places will be appended. Subscribers' names will be received by the publisher, John Sampson, 13, Coney Street, York.

The arrangements for the Colchester meeting of the Institute are making satisfactory progress. It will commence on Tuesday, August 1, under the Presidency of Lord Carlingford, Lord Lieutenant of Essex. The Presidents of Sections will be—*Antiquities*, The Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER; *Architecture*, A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.; *History*, E. A. FREEMAN, Esq., D.C.L. A local committee is actively occupied in promoting the interests of the meeting, and good assurance is given that the deficient hotel accommodation will be very fully supplemented by private hospitalities, and other arrangements to meet the requirements of visitors.

**ERRATUM TO No. 128.**

Nos. 6 and 9 of the illustrations to Sir Gilbert Scott's memoir on "The Transition from the Romanesque to the Pointed Style in England" were accidentally reversed in printing.



# The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1876.

## ON SOME LOMBARDIC GOLD ORNAMENTS FOUND AT CHIUSI.

By Mr. S. T. BAXTER, of Florence.

I HAVE the pleasure of bringing to notice a photograph (the size of the originals), together with a description of various objects of gold, discovered about two years ago in a tomb in the territory of Chiusi (Tuscany). They are interesting from the style of workmanship as well as from the rarity of ornaments of the epoch to which they may be attributed—that of the Lombard dominion in Italy (A.D. 568—774).

From the intrinsic value of these ornaments we may infer that they belonged to one of the chiefs, perhaps to one of the independent dukes who governed Chiusi, the Etruscan Clusium, during the supremacy of the Lombard nation. Previous to describing them, however, it may be well to give a short account of the Lombards or Langobardi, principally taken from the history of this people, written by Paul Warnefrid, generally known as Paulus Diaconus, from his ecclesiastical title. He is the only Longobardic historian whose writings have come down to us, and it is from him that most of our knowledge of these times has been obtained. He lived during the greater part of the eighth century; surviving the overthrow of his nation by Charlemagne, after which event he retired to the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Casino, and died there, about the year 799.

This nation, owing to an excess of population, took its departure from the shores of the Baltic, in search of new dwellings further south, and passed into Pannonia, the modern Hungary, soon after A.D. 539. They came into Italy by the gulf of the Adriatic, in the year A.D. 552, during the reign of their King Alboin, as allies of the Romans; Narses, who then ruled Italy in the name of the

Emperor Justinian, having sent ambassadors asking for their aid in his war against the Goths under Totila ; but, owing to their cruelty, they were dismissed after the first battle. Soon after the death of Justinian, Narses, who was now in disgrace at the court of Justin II. and Sophia, the existing rulers at Constantinople, invited Alboin and his nation to leave Pannonia, and take possession of Italy, which they did in the year A.D. 568, and thus Alboin became the founder of the Lombard power in Italy.

After the murder of Alboin, at the instigation of his wife Rosamond, Clepho reigned for one and a half years ; for ten subsequent years there was no supreme power, but the nation was governed by thirty-six independent dukes, the principal of whom were those of Pavia, Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Trent, Cividale di Friuli, and Spoleto ; it is uncertain whether at this time Benevento was among the number. Each Duke ruled in his own city, taking the third part of the produce from the Romans as tribute. Amongst the less important dukedoms was that of Chiusi, the site of the tomb in which the ornaments I am about to speak of, were discovered.

In the period of time between the fall of the Western Empire, A.D. 476, and the year 800, I have only found three instances in which history speaks of Chiusi or its Dukes. Muratori<sup>1</sup> tells us that Vitiges, after raising the siege of Rome on his way to storm Rimini, left a garrison at Chiusi, who in the month of June in the same year were taken prisoners by Belisarius, and sent into Sicily. Cesare Balbo,<sup>2</sup> in his "History of Italy under the Barbarians," gives the number of this garrison as 1000 men. The next mention is in the year A.D. 742, when we find<sup>3</sup> that Pope Zacharia having gone to Terni to meet the Lombard King Liutprand, and obtain restitution of four cities, the latter sent back with him his nephew Agiprand, Duke of Chiusi, to give him possession of the contested towns. Again we find Pope Adrian I. writing to Charlemagne<sup>4</sup> in the year after the fall of the Lombard kingdom, that Regnibaldo,

<sup>1</sup> Muratori. *Annali d'Italia*, A.D. 538.

<sup>2</sup> Cesare Balbo. *Storia d'Italia*, book ii. chap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Anastasius. *De Vitiis Pontificum Romanorum*: "Alia verò die, quæ fuit secunda feria vale faciens ei ipse rex

misit in ejus obsequium Agiprandum ducem Clusinum nepotem suum atque easdemque civitates cum suis habitatoribus traderent, quod et factum est."

Muratori. *Annali d'Italia*, A.D. 775.







Lombardic gold ornaments found at Chiusi.

or Reginaldo, Duke of Chiusi, was conspiring with the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to assist Adelchis, son of the dethroned King Desiderius, in returning to power.

The principal interest now attaching to Chiusi is in its earlier history and the inexhaustible field it affords to the antiquary. Dennis's "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria" contains a full account of it during the period of its Etruscan independence, and the light thrown upon the arts in primitive times by the treasures yielded from its tombs. During the winter months excavations are yearly made by the landed proprietors in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, or, if not so inclined themselves, they give or sell the right of excavating in their possessions; and some of the diggers, from long practice, possess a kind of instinctive knowledge of the most promising localities likely to reward their labours. The search is, however, made for Etruscan tombs only, from which they bring forth ash-chests, bronze idols and terracotta vases, or else the black Chiusi ware, of which many varied forms are to be found in museums; so many, that even my own private collection contains between one and two hundred different shapes. Occasionally, also, when they meet with a tomb unrifled in bygone ages, those beautiful gold ornaments of surpassing workmanship, which our modern goldsmiths are now endeavouring to imitate, repay their exertions.

I believe this to be the first virgin tomb of the Lombard period which has been discovered in Tuscany, and a rich treasure it proved to its finders, for besides the articles I am about to describe, others of as great or greater value are said to have been found, which were dispersed and sold in various cities of Italy. I have heard of a helmet and shield inlaid with gold as being amongst them, but of this I speak from rumour alone.<sup>5</sup> First in interest is the hilt of a sword (pl. I., no. 1), which seems originally to have been formed of ivory bound with gold; the latter only remains entire, and is ornamented with a rude chasing of marine monsters, with

<sup>5</sup> Among other treasures of the antique goldsmiths' art, till lately deposited by Signor Alessandro Castellani at the British Museum, were several objects of similar character to those now described by Mr. Baxter, but of which, unfortunately, we have no detailed account or

drawing. It is believed that these also were found in the same Chiusian sepulchre. With the rest of his important collection they have been taken by Signor Castellani to Philadelphia, the purchase by our government having been, unfortunately, declined. — C. D. E. F.

a rich beading at the edge.<sup>6</sup> The ivory is partly decayed, but a portion remains encrusted on each side of the steel blade. Lower down, beneath the hilt, is another band of gold, similarly ornamented, binding together in like manner the ivory and steel; this is furnished underneath with a loop of gold, whereby to attach it to the person, and seems to prove that this gold band terminated the sheath, composed like the hilt of ivory.<sup>7</sup> In the course of time the ivory and gold forming the sheath of the sword have become, from oxidation of the steel, united into a mass with the blade. What favours this latter supposition is, that there were found with the above the extremities of two ivory scabbards terminated with gold, as seen in the photograph (pl. I., nos. 2 and 3), similarly ornamented with a beading and marine monsters, two golden rivets still holding portions of the ancient ivory in each. It will be observed that these "châpes" are reversed in shape, as if belonging to a sword and dagger, intended to be worn one on each side of the body. There can be no possibility of these two "châpes" of the dagger and sword having belonged to one object, as each is complete in itself, being  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in thickness, although the photograph does not give a clear idea of this. The engraving of the back of one of them (pl. II., no. 2), shows the ends of the rivets seen on the front, which fastened the gold to the ivory, with which one is still nearly filled, though much discoloured. The unequal length of the sides of the "chape" would seem to prove that the sword was curved, and the fact that one side is higher than the other is an equal proof that the blade was one-edged.

In the left upper corner of the photograph (pl. III., no. 1) is a heavy buckle of solid gold, having a geometrical design

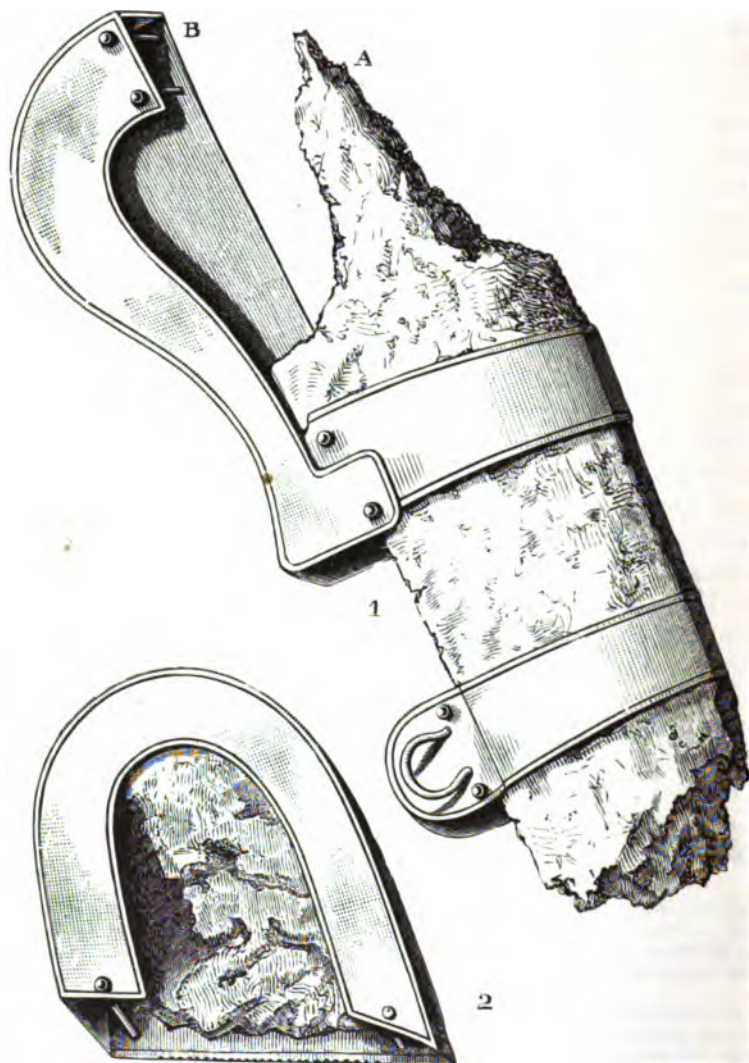
<sup>6</sup> As observed by Mr. Soden Smith, these figures may represent a modified form of the bird-headed ornament so characteristic of Celtic goldsmiths' work, and suggest some Celtic influence or reminiscence on the part of the maker. But Mr. Baxter's description is, nevertheless, correct, at least in respect to the dolphin, so distinctly figured upon the wing of the sword hilt.

The beading here referred to is formed, not by separate globules soldered side by side, but of a wire of gold, which by rolling on a grooved surface of stone or metal, or by hammering, has been divided into a series of irregularly formed and

connected beads. This method is detected upon gold ornaments discovered in various places, and attributable to the Merovingian and Carolingian periods—C. D. E. F.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the sword hilt, on further examination I still retain this opinion. The two gold rivets at the upper end hold part of the ivory hilt in which the iron blade was evidently fixed. If the part A (pl. II., no. 1) were hilt, and the part B scabbard, the sword could not be freely drawn; even if the rivets and the remaining ivory did not prove that a large portion of the latter is now wanting.





Lombardic gold ornaments found at Chiusi.

deeply cut into its surface, and on the under side three loops of the same metal, which served to fasten it to the warrior's dress. I remember having seen a somewhat similar one at the British Museum,\* in the room of the Etruscan gold ornaments. The present one, however, is furnished with a gold tag, adorned with a similar pattern, which when fastened to the end of a leathern strap passed through the buckle. The leather has, of course, long since decayed, but the rivet which fastened it is still in its place. There is also another buckle of the same metal and form, but much more elegant, and elaborately worked with a design in rich relief, surrounded by a border of large globules, and with three loops on the under surface to attach it to the dress (pl. II., no. 2). On the right of the photograph is yet another pair of solid gold buckles, rather smaller, but more complete (pl. III., no. 3); these are ornamented by indentations in the metal, the three large rivets in each, which once fastened them to the leather, still hang loosely in their sockets. They are accompanied by their respective tags, together with two oblong plates of gold backed with silver, with four rivets in each to unite the two metals. These seem to have formed part of slides, by which the extra leather was confined, after passing through the buckle.

One gold button only is in my possession, although I have heard that others were discovered. It has a long shank ending in a loop, and the upper surface is rudely chased in the form of a human face, which is surrounded by a gold beading (pl. III., no. 4). There are also five crosses of Greek form, cut out of thick sheet gold (pl. III., nos. 5, 6). These clearly indicate the Christian character of the tomb;

\* The objects of like style and approximate period preserved in the British Museum are the following:—

1. A buckle of similar form to these belonging to Mr. Baxter. It is enriched by a panel of punched ornaments in the centre, surrounded by two rows of beaded wire.
2. A tag which may have belonged to the buckle, being similarly ornamented.
3. Another tag, devoid of beading, but on which a kidney-shaped ornament is punched or chased.
4. A fastening for the dress, of similar form to these tags, and enriched with stamped and beaded orna-

ment, but the flat end of which is produced to an angle having a loop, through which a bar of gold is passed. This, doubtless, served as a fastening in the manner of an *agrafe*.

5. A quatrefoil ornament, which has been fastened to the dress. A punched or incised ornament on the flat surface of each lobe is surrounded by a row of beading intertwined with a corded wire.

Of the exact *provenance* of these ornaments nothing is known; it was said that they had been brought from Naples.

C. D. E. F.

four of them are  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. each way, while the other is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. All the extremities are pierced with two holes, by which the crosses were probably sewn on the dress. The man who excavated the tomb informed me that, from the position in which they were found, they must have been on the breast of the warrior; or they may have been attached to a pall or cloth thrown over the body in the tomb as a covering. It is known that the early Christian altars were always signed with five crosses, four of them arranged in the form of a square, and the other in the centre. And it is but natural that the same holy signs should have been adopted to mark the sacredness of an early Christian tomb, or rather the sepulchre of one who died shortly after his nation had become Christian.

The warrior's ring, of large size even for a man, is also most interesting. The setting is in the plain rude workmanship of the Lombard period, characterised by two large solid gold globules on each side of the bezel; but what is most remarkable, this setting contains a magnificent intaglio in black and white onyx, of the finest period of Etruscan art, representing two warriors raising a third, who is wounded. This stone was probably discovered about the time of the Lombards, in a tomb, or as frequently happens, even now around Chiusi, a ploughman while tilling a field may have turned it up in the furrow. We may suppose the landowner reserved it for his own use, and had it mounted by a goldsmith of his own nation (pl. III., no. 7).

The purposes to which all the above objects were applied cannot be mistaken; not so, however, the last I have to mention. These are two plates of gold bent downwards at the sides and upwards at the ends in the form of saddles (pl. III., no. 8). Each of them is pierced with a single hole; the upper surface is ornamented with a double row of small rings soldered to the gold plate, and the edges are finished by a gold beading, while the under surface is quite plain. I have not received a satisfactory explanation of their use from any person who has seen them, but as they fit accurately between the thumb and forefinger, I am led to the opinion, until I find a better one, that they may have formed part of the warrior's glove or mitten, the Latin MANICA (*χερίς*), which we are told was used by some of the northern nations.





Lombardic gold ornaments found at Chiusi.





Since the above discovery at Chiusi—but also in 1874—another Lombard tomb has been found at Cividale di Friuli, the ancient Forum Julii, in the north of Italy, ten miles east of Udine, and near the Austrian frontier. Through the kindness of the Marchese Carlo Strozzi, who has allowed me to take notes from a letter received by him from Signor Orlandi, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Cividale, I am enabled to furnish an account of the ornaments found therein. This tomb contained a sarcophagus, in which were the remains of Gisulf, the first Duke of Friuli,<sup>9</sup> nephew of Alboin, and his Strator, or Master of the Horse, left by him in command of Friuli, the first province conquered by the army when the nation entered Italy. According to Muratori, however,<sup>1</sup> Grasolf, father of Gisulf, was the first Duke of Friuli, as the latter from the testimony of the Exarch Romanus was “in juvenili aetate” in the year A.D. 590. Gisulf died in the year A.D. 611, as we are informed by Muratori, in the battle fought against the Huns, led by their king, whom Paulus Diaconus calls Cacan<sup>2</sup>. This name, however, was a title used by the princes of that nation, and not a proper name, but a dignity, as the chief of the Tartars is still called Khan, or, as Gibbon writes it, “chagan.”

On the exterior of the sarcophagus was inscribed GISULF in rude characters. The marble cover was of unfinished workmanship, probably from the short space of time which elapsed between the battle and the taking of the town of Cividale by the Huns or Avars, who were so called from the name of one of their kings. The capitulation was owing to the treachery of the widow of Gisulf,<sup>3</sup> who, admiring from the battlements the youthful leader of the Avars, sent a messenger to him offering to give up the city if he would make her his wife, which he deceitfully promised to do, but after two days he caused her to be impaled. His troops then sacked and burned the town, killing the men and leading the women and children into captivity.

Among the precious objects in the tomb of Gisulf may be

<sup>9</sup> Paulus Diaconus: book ii. chap. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Muratori. *Annali d'Italia*, A.D. 590.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus Diaconus: book iv. chap. 38.

<sup>3</sup> “Circa hæc tempora rex Avarorum quem sua lingua Cacanum appellat, cum innumerabili multitudine veniens Venetiarum fines ingressus est. Huic Gisulfus

Forojulianus dux cum Langobardis quos habere poterat, audaciter occurrit. Sed quamvis forti animositate contra immensam multitudinem bellum cum paucis gereret; undique tamen circumseptus cum omnibus pene suis extinctus est.”

<sup>4</sup> Paulus Diaconus: book iv. chap. 38.

mentioned :—1st, A ring of pure gold, weighing one ounce, with an Aureus of the Emperor Tiberius set therein ; 2nd, a gold clasp of Greek workmanship, with an elegant design in enamel, representing a peacock, or some other bird ; 3rd, a Greek cross of gold, with the head of Christ repeated eight times upon it. This cross was found on the breast of the dead warrior, sewn on his dress, of silk interwoven with gold, thus indicating an exalted personage, for we know<sup>4</sup> that the ordinary vestments of the Lombards were of linen, made wide like those worn by the Anglo-Saxons at this period, and ornamented with wide bands embroidered with various colours ; 4th, the lance, helmet and spurs, the latter of which were of silver.

The above facts may prove interesting as throwing some light on the history of a people who governed Italy during two of the darkest centuries after the Christian era, and of whom but few remains are to be found. The jewels of Queen Theodolinda in the treasury of Monza, and the early Christian churches built by them in their capital city of Pavia, are among the most important.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ib. : book iv. chap. 23.

<sup>5</sup> On the 21st May, 1868, Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, F.S.A., exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries some Lombardic gold ornaments, said to have been found at Belluno in North Italy. They are described in the 4th Vol. of the 2nd series of "Proceedings" of that Society at page 127, and consist of :—

1. A circular fibula of *cloisonné* work

with red glass on garnet inlay.

2. A pin, the head modelled as a left hand.

3. A cross of thin sheet gold, similar in form and character to those under consideration, but ornamented with pounced lines.

4. Four small pieced beads.

5. A finger ring ; a hoop widening to the bezel.—C. D. E. F.

ON A KEY-LIKE GOLD FINGER-RING OF THE SIXTH OR  
SEVENTH CENTURY FOUND AT MARZABOTTO.

By C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

THE ring now figured and described was kindly lent to me for that purpose by Mr. S. T. Baxter, of Florence, the fortunate owner of many fine specimens of antique goldsmith's work. It was found, as I am informed, at Marzabotto, in the neighbourhood of Bologna, during excavations made by the Conte Aria. By accidental pressure it has been bent from a circular into an almost triangular form. Its present entire length is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch; the key-like portion from the hinge of attachment, eleven-twelfths of an inch; the width of the hoop, a quarter of an inch; its weight, 6 dwt. 19 gr. This curious ring is formed as a circle or hoop of open work, to which a key-formed piece is attached by a hinge. Its mode of construction is, however, worthy of being considered more in detail, and would seem to be as follows:—Two hoops of beaded wire—the beading probably formed by rolling between two grooved surfaces of stone or metal, or by the use of a wedge-shaped hammer—are kept apart by, and fastened on either side to, a waved square wire, which impinges upon them at each alternate bend and is attached by fusion. At their point of union to form the hoop, which thus presents the appearance of a flat band, edged by beading, with a wavy line between and spaces left *à jour*, two stout loops are attached, between which the perforated extremity of the key-like appendage is fastened by a pin passing through it and them, working as a hinge. The stem of this projecting or suspended key-formed portion, which gives characteristic importance to the object, is formed of a stouter wire less deeply beaded; it is solid, and from one side project the simulated wards. These are formed of a flat wire, one piece of which is bent into a quadrilateral form, the centre being filled in by other pieces of the same wire, bent in wavy and circular forms without design, and

the whole soldered or rather fused together at the points of junction, thus forming a small grating of irregular open work; by one of its longer sides it has then been attached by fusion to the beaded stem. It is made of soft gold. This workmanship, curious in its rude simplicity, yet bears the impress of earlier modes of ornamentation—the granulated beading, of Oriental origin, coarsely represented by another method in the beaded wire; and the *opus interrasile*, or open work, but this again arrived at in effect only, by uniting bended wires in lieu of cutting designs through the flat bar of solid metal, also an eminently Oriental method, still so ably executed in Persia, &c. But it shows also to what a low degree the goldsmith's art had descended at the period and place of its production, probably Italy, and during the sixth century of our era or early in that which followed. Its precise date who can fix with certainty? for how few data have we to work from, and how little is left to us of the handicraft in precious metals of that dark age of discord. That this ring could be for no practical use as a key is manifest, but that the semblance of a key was intended in its fashion is equally obvious. What then was its purpose?

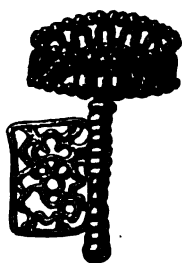
In Volume XXIX. of our Society's Journal, at page 305, was described and figured a remarkable latch key-like ring of gold belonging to Mr. Franks, which, of earlier date and more dainty workmanship, was shown to be equally of practical uselessness. In that notice I ventured to suggest that these rings may have had some emblematic significance; may have been badges of some office, public or private; and I directed attention to the curious statement by Boldetti in his "*Osservazioni*," lib. ii. cap. xiv., p. 507, that—"i sommi Pontefici costumarono di trasmetterle a i gran Principi in luogo di Reliquie e massime quelle d'oro calate prima da una piccola finestra dell' Altare della Confessione del Principe degli Apostoli S. Pietro ad hauriendam Sanctitatem."<sup>1</sup>

Can this be one of these key-like rings of gold, which, let down through the grating by a cord to touch the tomb of the key-bearing Apostle, was sent by the then Pope—perhaps Gregory I.—to some personage of high estate? or was it but an emblematic badge? In plan it approaches more to the silver and bronze key ring (also probably of earlier time)

<sup>1</sup> See foot-note "Arch. Journal," vol. xxix. p. 308.

belonging to Mr. Soden Smith, and referred to by me in the same paper at page 311, and others of similar form which are preserved in the British Museum.

I may be permitted to take this opportunity also of referring to two other rings, which seem to be of the same family as that belonging to Mr. Franks. One is in the Museum at York, is formed of jet, cut out of the solid, and having a projecting tongue which is ornamented by incision. It was found in Yorkshire, and may be of the later Roman period. The other is in the British Museum, and is of Byzantine character, made of gold; on the upper portion or table of the hoop a cabuchon emerald is set; a lateral oval tongue thence projects, corresponding to the latch lift, not worked with open work pattern, but set with a cabuchon sapphire. There can be little doubt that these may be considered as varieties of the same class as Mr. Franks' beautiful ring, and although differing materially in form, perhaps not so much in significance from that now under consideration, unless the latter be really one of those referred to by Boldetti. But even in such case it is possible that a double meaning may have been conveyed by their gift, as an emblem or badge of some unrecorded position or authority, and an Apostolic benediction conveyed in tangible and evil-dispelling form.



## ROMAN MARITIME TOWNS IN KENT.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH, M.A.

Two parts of this island are especially remarkable for the traces of Roman occupation which they have preserved; these are *Kent* and *Northumberland*, with the county of Cumberland adjoining it. They are rich in Roman remains, especially in Roman military remains, such as fortresses or *castelle*. Northumberland is especially rich in inscriptions, nearly all military; Kent has very few. The fortified Roman towns in Kent are also remarkable as indicating the later period of Roman occupation, and do not so much mark the period of conquest as of steps taken to preserve those conquests; also as the great northern barrier running through Northumberland was raised against the Picts and Scots, so the fortresses along the Kentish coast were raised against the Saxons and other northern pirates.

We have documentary records of the forces by which these fortresses were garrisoned. The "Notitia Imperii" has preserved to us their names,<sup>2</sup> and the inscribed stones on the line of the northern barrier has verified the correctness of the "Notitia." Unhappily, in Kent inscriptions are wanting, but the names of ancient ports survive in several places, as *Regulbium* (Reculver), *Portus Lemanis* (Lymne), *Dubris* (Dover). In treating of the Roman remains in Kent the "Notitia" is of the first importance, not only as giving

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Roy. Arch. Inst., July 27, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> They are—1. "Subdispositiones viri spectabilis comitis Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam."—2. "Præpositus numeri Fortensium, *Othnoe*." Supposed to be Felixstowe, near the mouth of the river Orwell, on the Suffolk coast. Submerged ruins.—3. "Præpositus militum Tungricanorum *Dubris*," *Doer*.—4. "Præpositus numeri Turnacensium, *Lemanis*," *Lymne*.—5. "Equitum Dalmatarum Brano-dunensis, *Brnaduno*." Brancaster, at the mouth of the Wash.—6. "Præpositus Equitum Stablesianorum

*Gariannonensis, Gariannono*." Burgh Castle, on the Yare.—7. "Tribunus Cohortis primæ Vetasiorum, *Regulbio*." Reculver.—8. "Præpositus Legionis," 11 Aug., *Rutupis*. Richborough.—9. "Præpositus Numeri Abulcorum, *Anderride*." Pevensey.—10. "Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum, *Portu Adurni*." *Aldrington*, on the river Adur. The office of the "Comes Lit. Sax." was to defend the coast of Britain against the Franks and Saxons. The term *Litus Saxonicum* was also applied to the opposite coast of Gaul, and was under *Dux Tractus Armorican*.

the names of the fortified towns and ports, but also the troops that occupied them.

The earliest notice, however, which we have of Kent is in the landing of Cæsar, and the interesting account he gives in his Commentaries;<sup>3</sup> and as Kent was the county on which the Roman eagle was first planted, so it was probably the county which witnessed the final departure of the Roman power.<sup>4</sup> When we refer to Ptolemy, the Roman geographer, we find three cities especially mentioned—Ptolemy flourished in the time of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, *i. e.*, the first half of the second century—these towns are Londinium, Durovernum, Rutupia; but he has made a mistake in assigning London to Kent. In the Itinerary of Antonine, Iter II., Rutupia is given as a PORT, “*ad Portum Rutupis*.” This Iter, beginning at the wall in Northumberland, is carried through York, Chester, London, and on through Southfleet, Rochester, Davington and Canterbury to Richborough. In the course of this Iter we have six Kentish stations mentioned.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, to the “*Notitia*”<sup>6</sup> that we must chiefly turn for information respecting the Roman occupation of this part of Britain. That work was probably compiled either in the time of Theodosius the Great or his successor, *i. e.*, previous to A.D. 450. It was in the reign of Theodosius the younger that the Romans abandoned this country. Coins of Honorius, Arcadius and Constantine are the last that are found in Britain on the sites of Roman cities, camps, or villas.

The Roman remains in Kent at Richborough, Reculver and Lympne have been so well worked out and carefully recorded by Mr. Roach Smith, that little remains for the

<sup>3</sup> C. Julii Cæsaris, Bell. Gal., iv. 26, 27, &c., et. v.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar's description of Kent is:—“*Ex his omnibus, longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt: quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum à Gallicâ differunt consuetudine*,” Bel. Gall. lib. v. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Noviomagus: † Keston, near Bromley; Vagniacæ, Southfleet; Durobrivæ, Rochester; Durolevum, Davington, near Faversham; Durovernum, Canterbury; Ad Portum Ritupis, Richborough.

<sup>6</sup> “Whenever the ‘*Notitia*’ may have been written,” says Mr. Roach Smith,

“it must have been before the Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain, though probably but a short time previous; for we find them concentrated upon the two great points of attack—the Wall on the north, and the Saxon shore—while other stations, which had in former years been garrisoned, are not mentioned, a silence which implies that some urgent cause had required the withdrawal of the troops; and that cause is explained by their disposition on the frontiers. Thus the Second Legion, surnamed *Augusta*, whose headquarters were at *Ica Silurum*, had been removed to Rutupia.”



antiquary to describe which will not be found in his book on those three stations, and in his subsequent report of the excavations at Lymne, but it may not be amiss to state in brief what will there be found detailed at length, and a few other points may be added. One cannot but be thankful that the same observation applies to the Roman antiquities of Kent which Camden applied to the general history of the county—that such a source of information existed through the labours of others, that he had only to summarise those labours.

Professor Hübner in his lately published volume, "*Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*," a work of much labour and research, has, under the head "*Portus Lemanae*" (see p. 20), briefly enumerated all the authorities, ancient and modern, who have either alluded to the Roman city or the district, or treated of the antiquities there found, but it is curious to observe the mention of only *one inscribed stone*, an altar, probably dedicated to Neptune,<sup>7</sup> by Aufidius Pantera, prefect of the fleet of Britain, and a remnant of pottery with the name *Severianus* upon it.<sup>8</sup> That much interest has been taken of late in the investigation and preservation of the Roman remains in Kent is testified by Professor Hübner, who thus alludes to them when he mentions the inscriptions above named,—"*Horum vero omnium oppidorum cum reliquiæ alius quidem generis supersint, servatæ illæ et explicatæ magna cum cura a Societate Archæologica Cantiana, cujus etiam Museum extat in Maidstone.*"

Those who had the benefit of hearing Dr. Guest's learned and elaborate dissertation on the landing of Julius Cæsar in Kent, since published in the "*Archæological Journal*" (vol. xxi. p. 221), with a map, will have studied the Kentish coast with no slight feeling of interest, whatever view may be taken as to the place of Cæsar's landing. Perhaps the late adventurous exploit of Captain Boyton,<sup>9</sup> and the place of his landing, may have settled the question of *tides* and *currents*, but to me it appears that if Cæsar sailed from

<sup>7</sup> At Sandwich a fragment with the word "*PRIMITIVI*" is recorded by Battaley, *Antiq. Rutup.* See Hübner's "*R. B. I.*," p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> A small marble altar to the *Diis Manibus*, in the Museum of the Institute at Canterbury, and dedicated by *Elius Teluminus*, and said to have been

found at Petham, requires to be authenticated, as no such altar has yet been found in this island. It has most probably been imported. See "*Inscrip. Rom. Brit.*" p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Since followed by the still more daring feat of Captain Webb (Aug. 24, 1875.)

Sangate or Wissant, he would most probably land at Deal; if he sailed from Boulogne (as the late Emperor of the French, in his life of Julius Cæsar, and the French antiquaries suppose), he would then probably land near Hythe, not far from the ancient *Portus Lemanis*.<sup>1</sup> Taking it, however, as an indisputable fact that *he did land*, although the exact point may be doubtful, we have, as a subsequent effect of his landing, three Roman roads from three fortified points on the Kentish coast, all three converging to one Roman town, Durovernum—Canterbury. Beginning at the south-western point of Kent, we have *Portus Lemanis*, the antiquities of which have been so well delineated and the plan given by Mr. R. Smith, in his report of the excavations there made in 1850, which forms a supplement to his earlier work on Richborough, Reculver and Lymne. From hence we have a Roman road direct to Canterbury, called "Stone Street," and proceeding along the coast we have *Portus Dubris*, and from thence the Roman road over Barham Down, leading also to Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> At Dover we have probably one of the earliest examples of Roman masonry in the "Pharos," or lighthouse; this stands within the traces of the Roman entrenchment. In constructing the Pharos, the Romans followed their usual method of laying a certain number of courses of ashlar alternated with two courses of Roman bonding tiles. Finding the Kentish rag too small and shapeless, and no other materials being within easy distance, they laid their foundations upon blocks of calcareous tufa, brought from Normandy, to the depth of 7 ft. 4 in.; below this they placed a single course of tile and a stratum of conglomerate, a foot and a half thick, resting upon clay mixed with flints.<sup>3</sup>

The Pharos at Dover, in its original state, probably resembled the lighthouse at Boulogne, said to have been built by Caligula, and destroyed in 1644. It is octagonal without and square within, and the walls 10 ft. thick and 40 ft.

<sup>1</sup> Horsley supposes Cæsar to have landed at Rutupia, see "B. R." p. 13. West Hythe is supposed to have arisen out of the decay of *Portus Lemania*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Leman, in a note to Horsley's "B. R.," says, "The present distance from London to Dover is 70 measured miles, but the Roman Road, which was from the capital nearly in the track of the present turnpike to Dartford, beyond that

place quits it, and while the former goes in a direct line to Southfleet, and Cobham Park, the present road bends considerably to the left, to pass through Northfleet and near Gravesend, on its way to Rochester." (See MS. Notes to Horsley, in Bath Lit. Inst.)

<sup>3</sup> See "The Architect" for March 27 1869.

high, but it has had additions made to it in times subsequent to the Roman dominion. It is mentioned in documents of 15 Edw. I., 1287, and appears then to have been used as a bell-tower, and was called the tower of Julius Cæsar. The Roman town of Dubræ was probably in the hollow between the hills now occupied by the modern town. Roman foundations have here been uncovered; <sup>4</sup> coins have been picked up on the beach. Roman tiles are found at Dover impressed with the letters CL. BR., which may be read "Classiarii Britannici," Roman marines.

From *Rutupie*, Richborough, another line of Roman road passes to Canterbury. The remains of the castrum here are very striking, and there is no difficulty about making out the plan, which is rectangular, and the masonry of the walls deserves careful examination. Accurate drawings of the walls are given by Mr. Roach Smith. The north wall is the most perfect, extending 560 ft. in length, and in places 30 ft. high. The facing remains perfect in places. The masonry consists of layers of squared stones with bonding-courses of tiles. The first course begins about 5 ft. from the foundation, and the other courses succeed at intervals of from 3 to 4 ft.<sup>5</sup> In no place can the masonry of the Roman period be better studied. At the angles of the castrum are circular towers, and the face of the wall on each side between the angles is strengthened by square towers.<sup>6</sup> The river Stour appears to have run originally under the walls, and to have formed the defence on the south-east side, if the sea did not formerly come up to the fortress, which appears to have stood upon an island between Thanet and the mainland. At the north-east angle, are the ruins of a return wall which seems to have run down under the cliff. Here was probably the landing-place which led into the citadel. In the north-east wall is a postern gateway, which externally has the appearance of a square tower, but when approached is found to be only a return wall covering a side entrance. The main entrance was near the middle of the western wall. Within the area is a mass of masonry which has perplexed hitherto all excavators; it

<sup>4</sup> See "Wanderings of an Antiquary," by Thos. Wright, F.S.A., pp. 110 and 111.

<sup>5</sup> See an account of these walls in the "Wanderings of an Antiquary," pp. 88, 89.

<sup>6</sup> For an account of Richborough, by

Dr. Stukeley, see a Letter by him in the "Bibliotheca Topographica," No. 11, p. 15, 22 Sept. 1716; also "Itin. Cur.," 1, p. 97; Harris, "Hist. of Kent, additions," p. 36; Somner's "Rom. Ports," p. 20; Battley's "Antiq. Rutup."

is a solid platform, with a raised portion in the form of a cross. The platform is 145 ft. long by 104 ft. wide, and composed of boulders and coarse mortar, on which is a floor of mortar 6 in. thick. From this floor the cross rises in a solid mass to between 4 and 5 ft., and appears to have been faced with squared stones.<sup>7</sup> I am inclined to think that the work was intended to support a wooden superstructure. There is an instance of a similar cross within a fortified parallelogram at Banwell, in Somersetshire, outside the Roman station there, but in this case the cross is formed of stones and earth thrown loosely together. A plan of it is given in Sir R. C. Hoare's "Ancient Wilts, Roman Period." The object of this arrangement has yet to be discovered. Outside the castrum are traces of the Roman town.

Leland, in the time of Henry VIII., describing Richborough, says, "The site of the old town or castle is wonderfully fair upon an hill. The walls which remain there yet be in compass almost as much as the Tower of London. They have been very high, thick, strong and well embattled. The matter of them is flint, marvellous and long bricks both white and red, of the Britons' fashion. The cement was made of the sea sand and small pebble. There is a great likelihood that the goodly hill about the castle, and especially to Sandwich-ward, hath been well inhabited. Corn groweth on the hill in marvellous plenty, and in going to plough there hath out of mind been found and now is more antiquities of Roman money than in any place else of England."

In Leland's time no care was taken to collect or record the remains of which he speaks; happily now these ancient records are valued and preserved and described, so as to assist in the study of the history of the past. The remains chiefly found at Richborough have furnished a very instructive and pleasant volume.

At the distance of nearly 500 yards from the castrum, towards the south-west angle, are the remains of a camp amphitheatre, sections and measurements of which are given by Mr. Roach Smith.<sup>8</sup> Unhappily for the antiquary, agricultural operations have reduced its depth and destroyed

<sup>7</sup> For a particular account of this curious structure see "Researches in the Roman castrum at Richborough," by G. Dowker, Esq., F.G.S., in the "Archæo-

logia Cantiana," vol. viii., with plan.

<sup>8</sup> See "Richboro," Reculver, and Lyme," p. 52.

the traces of its original arrangement. This injury it has shared in common with other Roman amphitheatres which remain outside Roman towns and forts, as at Silchester, Dorchester, Cirencester. These amphitheatres are more frequent than is sometimes supposed, and others remain still to be discovered. The plan of one at Castell, in Anglesea is given by Mr. Owen Stanley in Vol. xxxi. of the "Archæological Journal," p. 319, and is very similar in size and form to that at Richborough. In this some of the stone seats are still remaining *in situ*. I do not know that there is another instance of this in Britain, but probably all may not have been so fitted, the seats being cut in the turf. In most places the demand for hewn stone for building purposes would soon cause the removal of all cut stone that could be turned to use.<sup>9</sup> The outer wall of the amphitheatre at Richborough has been traced. There were three entrances, north, south, and west. On the northern entrance two side walls were traced running inwards, with a paved passage between them sloping down into the arena; at each of the other two entrances one of the side walls was found.<sup>1</sup> As is the case on the site of all other Roman cities, a very large number of Roman coins have been found at Richborough, some in excavating on the site of the amphitheatre. A description, as well as a catalogue of these coins is given in Mr. Roach Smith's book.<sup>2</sup> They amount to 1300, but others have been found, as well as the small coins called "Minimi," which are probably the product of the period immediately following the withdrawal of the Romans. The Roman coins extend over a period of 400 years, beginning with consular

<sup>9</sup> Lipsius gives an account of an amphitheatre at a place called Doveon, near du Sey, upon the Loire, on the road from Anjou to Poitou. This is cut out of a mountain of stone, but of a soft kind like our chalk, and small in size. The chambers are hewn out of the rock, and the area is small. (See Stukely, *Iter*. VI. p. 173.) At Silchester the form of the seats on the turf was once discernable. Stone seats are still existing in the remains of one in Wales. See "Archæol. Journal," vol. xxi. p. 319.

The people of Rome originally stood at the games. "Cicero de Amicitia," c. 7; "Stantes plaudabant in re ficta," also "Tac. Ann." xiv. 20, and "Val. Max." xi. 4.

"If you look back to the customs of

antiquity, the people stood at the shows, for if they had been accommodated with seats they would have idled the whole day away at the theatre."—Tac. Ann.

"It was ordered by the Senate that no one should set benches for shows in the city, nor within a mile of it, or should see the games sitting, that the manly posture of standing, the peculiar note of the Roman nation, should be observed even at diversions."—Val. Max.

"In gradibus sedet populus de cespite factis,  
Qualibet hirsutas fronde tegente  
comas."—Ovid de Arte Aman.

<sup>1</sup> See "Wanderings of an Antiquary," p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 120—152.

denarii, and ending with Constantine III. Saxon coins have also been discovered, which prove the occupation of the port subsequent to the Roman period. This port is also mentioned by Bede in his "Ecclesiastical History," and may have been the point at which St. Augustine, the great missionary to the Saxons, landed, A.D. 597. The number of Roman coins which are continually found on Roman sites has sometimes occasioned surprise; but if we consider the difficulty and the risk of conveying money in those troublous times, we cannot wonder that much was hidden away, in the hope of being hereafter reclaimed, and has thus become lost for so many ages, and preserved to our time as a confirmation and exponent of past history. Rutupiæ was, no doubt, a place of great importance during the whole period of the Roman occupation. It was a stronghold where treasure could be guarded, and where soldiers would receive their pay or donative. We may well, therefore, expect to find here specimens of the coinage of Rome from an early to a late period.

Rutupiæ is particularly mentioned by Roman writers of different periods. Thus by Ptolemy the geographer; in the Itinerary of Antoninus; by Lucan, the poet; in the Putingian tablet; by the chorographer, Ravenna; by Ammianus Marcellinus; by Orosius, and by Ausonius the poet; and by Juvenal the satirist, who tells of the excellence of the oyster-beds upon the coast, remains of which are found. And we find the *Second* legion, after its removal from Caerleon on Usk, stationed here in the fifth century, according to the "Notitia." Most of these authorities will be found quoted in Mr. Roach Smith's work, and they are summed up by Prof. Hübner with particular references. The remains also of pottery and other articles are drawn and described in Mr. R. Smith's work, and are too many here to enumerate. Roman remains are found in the churchyard of St. Clement, at Sandwich, and these are supposed to have come from Rutupiæ, and here may have been a burying place for that city.

The Isle of Thanet was originally separated from Kent by a series of marshes forming an estuary rather than a river, called the Wantsum. In Dr. Guest's map we have the *Wantsum*<sup>3</sup> marked with Rutupiæ on the south-east, and

<sup>3</sup> The name given by Bede.

Regulbium on the north-west coast of the mainland. These two fortified Roman towns seem to have formed landing places on the respective shores, and beyond them is the Isle of Thanet, though Rutupiæ probably stood on a small island between Thanet and the mainland. Roman coins and other remains are found in Thanet. This was the case in laying the foundation of Ramsgate pier, and the remains of burial places have been found, as at *Minster*. Thanet, however, is better known in connection with Saxon history, but the two Roman fortresses at the extreme points of the opposite coast link it with Roman occupation.

*Regulbium*, now Reculver, was of inferior importance to Rutupiæ (Richborough), though fortified by a rectangular wall, and a place of sufficient strength. It is mentioned in the "Notitia Imperii," as the station of the first cohort of the Vetasians under a tribune.

"Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetasiarum Regulbio."

The commander here was only a tribune; at Rutupiæ he was *prepositus*, or *commander* of the *Second Legion*, the August. We must not therefore expect to find the same memorials here as at Richborough, but we have enough to interest us both in situation and in the reliques that remain. Neither have we the same references in the Roman Itinera, or allusions in classical and later Roman writers. No inscriptions<sup>4</sup> have here been found—we cannot therefore ascertain the probable date of its foundation, or its occupation previous to the later days of Roman power. The southern portion of Britain seems to have enjoyed tranquillity from the time of Claudius until the decline of the Empire, the wars subsequent to the time of Claudius having been carried on in the West or in the North of Britain. In the time of Carausius or Allectus, or subsequently, this portion of the coast became fortified against the attacks from the sea, and we have a Roman officer bearing the title of "Comes Littoris Saxonici," who was responsible for the defence of this portion of the island against irruptions from the Franks and the Saxons from the opposite coast.

During the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus, bodies of Franks and Saxons had been brought into Britain, and though

<sup>4</sup> The name CLAUDIA ATERICUS is mentioned by Leland. See Hearne's Edit. vol. vii. p. 137.

the province was afterwards freed from them, yet they were never wholly prevented making descents upon the island and harassing the Roman power. Unhappily the records of those times are very brief. Theodosius the Great expelled the Picts, Scots, and Saxons from Britain, and he is stated to have rebuilt the cities and garrison towns. "Instaurabat urbes et præsiidiaria, castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis." (Amm. Marcell., lib. xxviii. c. 3.) It is probable that to this period Reculver owes its fortifications. The cohort which garrisoned it was the first cohort of the Vetasii, a people of Belgic Gaul, now called Brabant. They are mentioned in rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian as among the auxiliary soldiers. Monumental inscriptions record the Vetasii or Betasii, one found at Elenfort in Cumberland, and two on the Rhine, one at Mayence, the other at Kattwyk, &c.<sup>5</sup> The cohort at Regulbium probably numbered 300 or 400 men; the legion at Richborough probably 1500.

The question has been asked why the region protected by these two fortresses should have been called the *Saxon Shore*, and it is commonly considered that it was so named from incursions of Saxon pirates who harassed the Roman province. "Nam illis diebus agilem audierunt esse piratico in opere Gentem Saxonum in totâ maritimâ a Rheno fluvio usque in Doniam urbem, quæ nunc vulgo Danmare nuncupatur, ac in omni armatura robustam," (Ethelwardi Chronicorum, Lib. i. See also Beda, i. 14, 15.) The maritime parts of the continent north of the Rhine are assigned to the Saxons, though other tribes are included in that name.

It is not improbable that Thanet and Kent, if not actually peopled originally from these parts, had much of its population from thence, and held frequent intercourse with these northern people.<sup>6</sup> I am inclined to think that this better accounts for the name "Littus Saxonicum" than the fact of its being infested with pirates. We know from Cæsar that the population of the maritime part of Britain was different from the inland, and the fact that the Britons, when in

<sup>5</sup> See "Horsley's Brit. Rom.," p. 251; Steiner, "Codex Insa. Rom. Rheni," Nos. 491 and 965; Roach Smith's "Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne," p. 152. Also Hübner's "Insa. Brit. Lat.," where seven inscriptions are given which contain the name of "I. Cohort. Betasio-

rum," all found in Britain.

<sup>6</sup> "Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Ætiorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britanica propior." Tacitus de mor. Germanorum, c. 45.



trouble, sought aid from the Continental Saxons seems to strengthen the supposition.

Mr. Roach Smith observes that Reculver, at the present day, presents a very different aspect to Richborough. "The vestiges of the walls of the castrum have not that solemn grandeur and impressive majesty of loneliness which distinguish the more perfect remains of its ancient ally." The sea has forsaken the one, but has encroached upon the other. Half the site of Regulbium has been swallowed up by the sea, which has destroyed as much of its walls. From measurements taken in 1781, the castrum seems to have occupied a little above eight acres of ground, while the area enclosed within the wall was seven acres, two rods, twenty-six poles. There appears to have been only one entrance in the centre of the west wall. The thickness of the wall is from eleven to twelve feet, and some facing stones are found where the wall has been covered up. The ground has risen to the top of the wall in the interior, but on the outside the wall is twelve feet high. The walls are built of flint and pebbles, with layers of septaria. The foundation is a thick stratum of pebbles, and a thick moulding of concrete seems to have been carried round the bottom of the wall in the interior. There are no tiles as at Richborough and Lymne.

In Leland's time Reculver was a quarter of a mile from the sea. There was probably a road from hence to Dorovernum or Canterbury, but the traces do not appear very certain. Dorovernum was the central point where the Roman roads from these maritime fortresses met. The *Stone-Street* coming from Portus Lemanis being distinctly marked.

About the remarkable fortress of Lymne something should be said, though its peculiarities have been so well described and so carefully delineated by Mr. Roach Smith. "The haven was connected by roads with the military stations on the sea coast to the east and west, and also with London by a direct road through Canterbury, securing for it the most expeditious communication with the capital of the province. The fourth Iter of Antoninus, which points direct from Londinium to the Portus Lemanis, reveals the character and importance of this ocean fortress." Ptolemy in his list of places in the territories of the Cantii mentions χαῖνος λιμνη, which name probably distinguished it from the μεγας λιμνη, now Porchester. Lymne may take its name from λιμνη, the marsh

or marshy land where it is situated. It forms the terminus of the fourth Iter of Antonine, A Londinio ad Portum Lemanis, M. P. LXVIII. The geographer Ravenna mentions the Station Lemanis and the River Lemana. In the Putingerian Tablet, Lemanis, Dubris, Rutupiaë are marked on the line of the sea coast in their proper positions. They are also referred to in the Ravenna list.

The plan of this interesting fortress is given by Mr. R. Smith with the subsequent derangement of the walls through the landslip, which has thrown them completely out of place, yet their original position may be pretty well ascertained. For an account of the landslip I would refer to Mr. Wright's "Wanderings of an Antiquary," p. 125 and following. He says, "The appearance of the walls when uncovered was extremely interesting. The lower part in perfect condition, and the facing stones retained a freshness almost as if they had been recently wrought. The round towers which were on the exterior of the wall had been built up solid and attached to the wall. Several small entrances were traced, with one or two vaults or chambers in the wall. The grand entrance was in the middle of the eastern side, looking towards Dover and Folkestone. This had consisted apparently of an arch between two small semicircular towers." One of the houses within the area of the castrum, the site of which was uncovered, is described by Mr. Wright. The walls remained at a uniform height of about 5 feet, the floors were gone, but the hypocausts remained in a broken condition, and the fire-places contained heaps of ashes. The date of the occurrence of the landslip is uncertain, as no record remains, but it is probably much later than the Roman occupation. Towards the lower end of the eastern wall in the interior, a penny of the Saxon King Edgar was found. The date of his reign is from A.D. 959 to A.D. 975, and the landslip must have occurred subsequent to this period. At the time of the occurrence the town walls appear to have been perfect, and the walls of the houses remained, with the superstructure cleared away; otherwise the rubbish of the upper portions would still be discoverable. The materials of the walls of the fortress appear to have been used for building purposes after they had come into the position in which they are at present, as that which is covered up had escaped depredation. This would have been sacrificed if it had remained in its original upright position.

I must confine this paper to the mention of the Roman maritime towns of Kent, for were I to touch upon other stations it would be drawn out to too great a length. One word may however be said about Durovernum, the city in which we are now met. In the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (No. 6, Part ii., pp. 33, 34) will be found a drawing and description of Northgate, through which in ancient times the Roman road continued in a direct line from Castle Street to Wincheap, Chilham and Northgate. This is said to have been the finest remnant of antiquity in the city, and perhaps the most entire of its kind in the kingdom. "The preservation of it (until recent times), we are told, was owing to the care and generosity of Dr. Gray, an eminent physician who died 1737, through whose intercession the Corporation were prevailed on to let it remain, who otherwise would have taken it down; and for its further security the doctor at his own charge repaired the inside wall with new brickwork and coping, and under it erected a commodious bench. The boldness of the arch, consisting entirely of Roman bricks (says the writer), strikes the eye of the beholder with a kind of veneration." Measurements of this gate are given, and careful drawings made in the year 1771. This has unhappily now disappeared before the march of modern improvement—Cannot such remains be preserved without detriment to modern requirements?

#### NOTES ON THE FIRST INCURSIONS OF THE SAXONS INTO BRITAIN.

At what period these incursions commenced we have no means of judging. They were probably much earlier than the date of the *Notitia Imperii* in which the first mention occurs of the "*Comes Limitis Saxonici*." The date of the *Notitia* may be placed about A.D. 450. The term "*Littus Saxonicum*," or "*Limes Saxonicus*," was therefore probably known much earlier. From the date of the *Notitia* we have constant mention of the inroads of the Saxons, together with other neighbouring peoples.

*Claudian*, Paneg. de quarto Honorii Consulatu, v. 31, writes thus:—"——— maduerunt *Saxone* fuso Orcades, incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule."

*Claudian*, In Prim. Consul. Stilichonis, lib. ii. v. 247, A.D. 400, writes:—

"Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem  
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto  
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."

And again—

"Quæ sævis objecta Getis, quæ Saxona frenat  
Quæ Scotum legio, quantæ cinxere cohortes  
Oceanum, quanto pacatur milite Rhenus."

*Ammianus Marcellinus* (who flourished A.D. 380) divides the people of North Britain into Picti, Saxones, Scoti and Attacoti. Lib. xxvi. c. 4, circa A.D. 364. "Hoc tempore Picti Saxonesque et Scoti, et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis." "Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones iisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere terra vel mari, prædis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus hominum violabant."

*Prosper Tyro*, about A.D. 441, writes, Theodosii xviii. : "Britanniæ usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latæ, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur."

According to *Bede*,<sup>7</sup> H. E. I. 14, 15, the coming of the Saxons was about A. D. 449, *i. e.*, no sooner was the Roman power withdrawn than we find them landing upon the coast.

*Nennius*, who finished his "Historia Britonum" A.D. 858, writes in his preface, "Nec non et de historiis Scotorum Saxonumque licet inimicorum, non ut volui sed ut potui"; also, cap. xi., "A primo anno Saxones venerunt in Britanniam usque ad annum IIII. Mervini Regis, supputantur CCCCXXXIX."; and cap. xxviii. concludes with the words (after speaking of the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, "tres Chiulis a Germania") "Hæc est genealogia istorum marum de quibus primo creverunt Saxones."

The geographer *Ravenna*, who may be taken to have written not later than the seventh century, says, "In oceano occidentali est Insula quæ dicitur Britannia, ubi olim gens Saxonum veniens ab antiquâ Saxonica cum principe suo nomine Anchis in eâ habitare videtur."

It will be seen that according to these writers the earliest conquerors of Britain after the Roman force was withdrawn are invariably called Saxons.

*Gildas* (who was born A.D. 516, and died A.D. 570), xxiii., says :—"Tum omnes Consiliarii una cum superbo tyranno Gurthrigerno Britannorum duce cæcantur, et adinve-

<sup>7</sup> Bede, born A.D. 673, died 735.

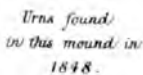
nientesta le præsidium, imo excidium patriæ, ut ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones, Deo hominibusque invisi, quasi in caulas lupi in insulam ad retrudendas aquilonaes gentes intromitterentur."

*Beda*, H. E. Gentis Anglorum, lib. i. c. v., states :—  
"Advenerunt autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, *i.e.*, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. De Jutorum origine sunt Cantuarii, et Vectuarii, hoc est, ea gens quæ Vectam tenet Insulam, et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia occidentali Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De Saxonibus, *i.e.*, ea regione quæ nunc antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur venere orientales Saxones, meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est, de illa patria quæ Angulus dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, orientales Angli, mediterranei Angli, Merce, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, *i.e.*, illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti."

Here we have the earliest distinct account of the settlement of Britain after the Romans left the island, and from this settlement dates the destruction of all the great Roman works in Britain, fortresses, roads, bridges, villas, posting stations, and all that marked the refinement of a civilized people.



## 1874



Floor at A is 2' 6" below floor at B.



REFERENCE TO NUMBERS.

- I. Flag with hole 4" diam.
- II. Grinding Stone Pounding Stone & Pottery.
- III. Stone Hammers or Wedges & Pottery.
- IV. Burnt Clay near the floor in quantities.
- V. Bone Pin & Red Cornelian Intaglio with nude figure of the God Bonus Eventus
- VI. Jaw and other bones of Animals under wall
- VII. Fireplace
- VIII. Quern, various pieces of Pottery found near floor
- IX. Graves 6' 5" x 2' 9" x 1' 6" deep, side & end stones on bed of Clay, position nearly S.E.
- X. Covered Drain.
- XI. Various Pieces of Pottery & Polished Stones
- XII. Stone Hammer.
- XIII. Pieces of Iron
- XIV. Grave roughly covered with Stones and same

- at side. Skull & Arms only found, remainder had evidently been burnt. Grave full of Charcoal burnt earth & Shells, arms crossed over head
- XV. Two Skeletons buried in the Sand, no Stones Clay underneath, arms crossed on breast.
- XVI. Hole 2' 6" x 3' 6" x 2' deep flag on each side. 6" thick, large cover 4' 5" x 6" all crevices stopped with smaller Stones, on the cover was a cart load of White Stones, bottom flag with about an inch of Fine Sand; on top wall built across the cover.
- XVII. Red ornamented Pottery and Flint.
- XVIII. Large Stones laying down 8' long x 3' x 1'
- XIX. Remains of large Pit 8' diam on a Stone face downwards.
- XX. Part of Bronze Bracelet. Hub circle 16" above High Water





NOTICES OF SEPULCHRAL DEPOSITS WITH CINERARY URNS  
FOUND AT PORTH DAFARCH, IN HOLYHEAD ISLAND,  
IN 1848; AND OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE SAND  
MOUNDS ADJACENT IN 1875-6.

By the Hon. W. OWEN STANLEY, F.S.A., Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey.

I COMMENCE my account of more recent discoveries at Porth Dafarch last year by a reprint of portions of a former notice given in 1848, as they will afford great assistance to the reader of the later discoveries on the same spot.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of October, 1848, an interment which presented some unusual circumstances in the mode of deposit, was found on the shores of the bay called Porth Dafarch, about midway between the South Stack and Towyn y Capel, on the estates of the late Lord Stanley of Alderley, now possessed by the writer of the present notice. The tenant, Thomas Jones, was collecting stones suitable for the construction of some farm buildings: on the right of the road leading down to the bay there was a small mound about 30 ft. in circumference, severed from other large mounds by the road; at this spot the tenant was removing a stone of some size, and, on this being displaced, an earthen urn, described as resembling a beehive, was discovered beneath, which mostly crumbled to pieces, a few fragments only being preserved.

It is of a very coarse light brown ware, formed by hand, without the lathe; the interior, near the mouth, as well as the exterior, ornamented with zigzag scourings. In general character it appears not dissimilar to the cinerary urns found in Wiltshire and other parts of England. It is probable that this large urn, which had been placed in an inverted position, had become decayed by moisture and proximity to the surface, the interment being less than 2 ft. beneath the

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars see "Arch Journ." vol. vi. p. 226. It had been intended to reproduce the illustrations

there given, but at the last moment it was found that the wood-blocks were not forthcoming.

sward. The urn had been protected by flat stones to resist the superincumbent weight.

On searching further a small urn of unusual form, and fabricated with considerable skill, was found placed within the larger urn ; both contained ashes, fragments of burned bones, and sand. The smaller urn was placed in the centre, upon a flat stone, carefully protected all round by a little wall of pieces of shingle set edgeways, about 6 or 8 ins. in height, and serving to protect the deposit from the weight of the surrounding soil—the mouth of the urn, indeed, was so firmly fixed and embedded in this manner that it proved impracticable to extricate it without breaking the vessel to pieces. The exterior urn appears to have been of great size, nearly 13 ins. ; the height cannot now be ascertained correctly. The strongest parts of the fragments which have been preserved measure near  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. in thickness ; the surface is of a dingy brown colour, extending only through a slight crust, the interior being dark black and deficient in compactness ; the outer side is scored around the rim with diagonal and vertical lines, formed as if by a coarse cord upon the clay, and it is ornamented by several grooves or channels of equal width, marked with zigzag lines impressed in the same manner, and with great regularity ; on the inner side the mouth of the urn is likewise ornamented with a corded pattern about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. deep.

The small urn, which is of a lighter colour, very compact and well formed, measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. diameter at mouth, its height 3 ins., diameter at base  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It is marked over the entire surface, as is also the lip within, by lines scored with a fine pointed tool, and forming a succession of zigzag bands : this urn was not inverted. The urns had been placed on a flat stone forming a floor. In the preceding woodcut their proportion is shown.

A second similar deposit was brought to light adjacent to that which has been described. The outer urn had become quite decayed and crumbled into black dust ; within it had been placed a small urn of still more diminutive size than the former and quite plain, without any ornamental scorings. It was fortunately preserved, and measures in height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins., diameter of mouth  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins., diameter of widest part  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins., base  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Like the first, it contained ashes.

A few feet to the west of these remains a rudely formed

cist or grave, placed nearly east and west, was found formed from slates of stone set edgeways, and covered by a fifth slab of large size ;—a considerable quantity of bones were scattered around, and charcoal with appearances of fire. It is probable that the bodies may have been burned here, and the ashes gathered and placed in the urns.

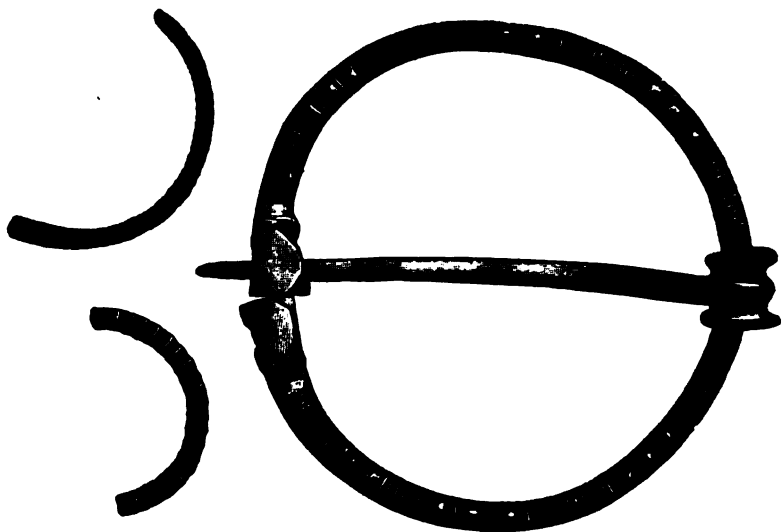
Many large stones lay in the sand around, measuring near 3 ft. square ; there was also a large stone which might have formed a maen hir. The sea washed the base of this tumulus, which was the natural rock, but the sea, probably, had encroached on the bay one hundred yards since the deposit of urns took place.

The general appearance of the spot and position of the tumulus are seen in the view which accompanies the memoir in vol. vi. p. 226.

In the neighbourhood of the spot, further inland, there are several green mounds which have some appearance of being sepulchral, but the sand has drifted much and formed round heaps over projections of the rock.

On the 5th of October last, 1875, having given permission to the contractors for the new dock at Holyhead to take sand from Porth Dafarch, where it had drifted against the rocks about 300 yards from the sea, and near the spot where the urns were found in 1848 at a depth of about three feet from the surface, they opened out a stratum of black burnt soil about 40 feet from the face of a large overhanging cliff, at which the sand drift ends. This stratum was at first only six inches thick, but it gradually increased to three feet in depth as it approached the rock, on which it appeared a fierce fire had been maintained for a considerable length of time, and had formed a semicircular deposit, of which it was the centre. About 20 feet on each side from the central fire, the black deposit was mixed with stones from the sea beach and charcoal, a great many bones of the primitive ox (*bos longifrons*), red deer antlers of large size, and teeth of the same animal ; also the tusk of a wild boar (the large bones were all broken, probably to extract the marrow), numerous fragments of pottery of various kinds, amongst which was one of highly ornamented Samian. A little further from the spot bearing marks of the fire, to the south, we discovered a beautiful large bronze brooch, quite perfect, of circular form,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in

diameter, ornamented on the front side with ribs. It much resembled the Highlander's brooch, with which he fastens his plaid. With it, were portions of two smaller rings of bronze ribbed in the same manner. A bronze



Bronze brooch, and portions of rings of bronze found at Forth Dafarch.

brooch of somewhat similar form, but smaller, was found in the Roman camps at Caer Leb.<sup>2</sup> There were six feet of sand under the spot marked by the fire and only three above it; if we suppose the fire had been used about 1500 or 1600 years ago, and the deposit of drift sand had been regular, these six feet would denote a great antiquity.

Finding these interesting traces of an early occupation of the spot,—for the brooch is supposed by an excellent authority to be early in the Romano-British times,—determined me to commence the excavation of one of the green mounds before noticed, which had always attracted the attention of Mr. Albert Way and myself as possibly being sepulchral. We selected one of the green mounds, the centre one of three close to the road from Holyhead, and just above the mound where in 1848 the urns were discovered, as described in the commencement of this memoir. As a few large stones projected from the surface of the sward at the top of the mound, we hoped to find some sepulchral deposit. A trench

<sup>2</sup> See "Archæologia Cambrensis," Series 3, vol. xii., p. 214.





**Bone needle, fragments of pottery, and pierced tip of deer's horn, found at Porth Dafarch.**

was dug from north to south across the top of this tumulus, the large stones being removed. The uppermost one was a rough, flat stone resting upon an upright one sunk in the sand about three feet; several other large stones scattered about had apparently formed a rude cist for the protection of urns. From the disturbed state of the stones, and numerous fragments of pottery being mixed with the sand, there was little doubt in my mind that the tumulus had been opened at some former time, but by unskilful hands; the green sward was firm, so it must have been many years ago, as the drift sand takes a very long time to re-form a compact sward. The trench was about four feet wide and the same deep. The tumulus was formed of sand mixed with quantities of stones from the sea-shore. The fragments of pottery were like broken urns of various dimensions, very similar to those found at Pen y Bonc in 1869.<sup>3</sup> From the fragments it was evident many urns must have been broken up. At the north end, where we commenced the trench, about four feet from the surface, we found ashes of human bones, just such as are found inside the urns, also human bones not so entirely burnt in the fire. There were two or three bee-hive excavations in the sand lined with flat stones placed one upon the other so as to form a dome; from one of these I took out a handful of human bones, with a portion of the jaw and teeth. They seemed to have been subjected to cremation. On throwing out the sand a bone pin or needle was obtained five inches long, marked with a lozenge pattern; it had been broken off where the hole was made to take the sinew or thread, and had probably been thrown out of the urn when the tumulus was first opened. Such needles are very frequently found deposited in or near urns, having been used probably to sew up the ashes or bones in cloth or other substance, collected after cremation from the funeral pile, to be deposited in urns or such cavities as I have just described. Many large bones of animals, mostly the ox (*bos longifrons*) or red deer, were mixed with the sand.

The tenant I employed, when sifting the sand thrown out of the trench about four feet from the surface, discovered a beautiful small red cornelian intaglio close to the spot where the bone needle was found. It was most fortunate so small an object was observed. The gem represented a naked

<sup>3</sup> See Arch. Journ., vol. xxvi., p. 307.



figure of a youth, wreathed round the head, holding a cake in one hand, outstretched, and ears of corn in the left hand, hanging down by the side.



Intaglio found at Tommen-y-Mur, Festiniog.



Intaglio found at Porth Dafarch.

The figure is supposed to represent the god Bonus Eventus. An intaglio so much resembling it was found at Tommen y Mur, Festiniog (*Hereri Mons*) that I obtained permission from the late Mrs. Coulson to have it engraved and placed by the side of mine for the advantage of comparison, as no engraving had ever been made of it. I also give copies of letters from my cousin, the late Mr. Albert Way, to Mrs. Coulson, with remarks about the figure and intaglio, which are most applicable to the one found at Porth Dafarch. Mr. Utting, who engraved them for me, told me it could hardly be doubted but that the same hand had executed both gems.

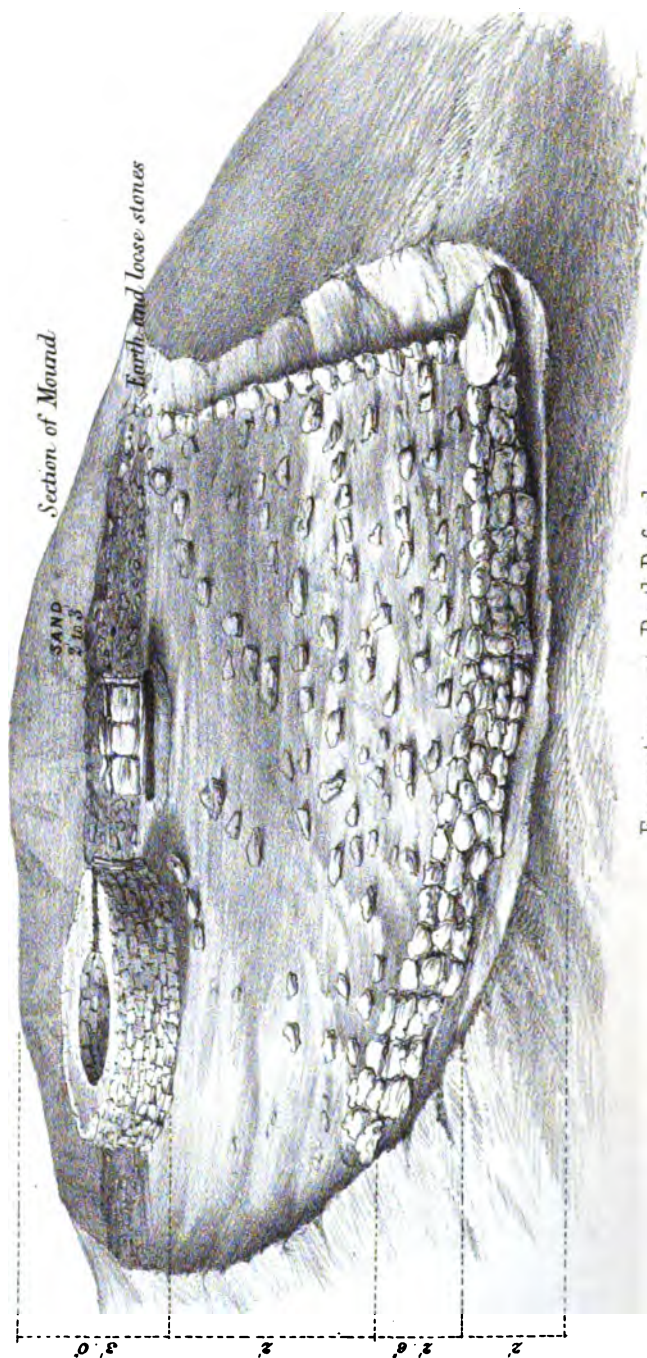
(Copy of a letter from the late Mr. Albert Way to the late Mrs. Coulson, Billaport Hall, Market Drayton, about the gem found at Tommen-y-Mur, *Hereri Mons* of the Romans).

“ISLE OF WIGHT, January 9, 1872.

“DEAR MADAM,—I hope that it may be agreeable to you to hear what is said of the Tommen y Mur intaglio by my friend Mr. King, who has gained so general a reputation for his special knowledge of such subjects. He writes thus :—

“‘The gem is very interesting, as having every appearance of having been the work of a British artist ; the design of the figure, so peculiar as it is, is identical with that of the nude figures on the reverse of the coins of Carausius, and Alecto,





Excavations at Porth Dafarch  
View of Mound, shewing the Hut, Circle & Grave, 1876.

View of Mound, shewing the Hut, Circle & Grave, 1876.

and on those issued later from the London Mint. As for the subject, the first glance suggests Mercury; more minute examination proves the attributes to be meant for a bunch of grapes and ears of corn. The personage can only be *Bonus Eventus*. A votive tablet to this deity associated with Fortune was found at Caerleon (see Lee's "Isca Silurum," p. 19). This image was with good reason a very popular signal device with the Romans.'

"You will probably agree with me in thinking that 'Good Luck' appears in a somewhat Mercurial character on your gem. When my friend describes this art as British, we must of course assume that he intends colonial, or such as was the produce of Britain, whether by Roman hands or otherwise under the control of Roman influence. It is striking to find how the Romans carried with them to the remotest quarters of the Empire the elegancies or refinements of life, as well as their prevailing habits of thought, manners, superstitions, and so forth.<sup>4</sup> "ALBERT WAY."

"MRS. COULSON, BILLAPORT HALL."

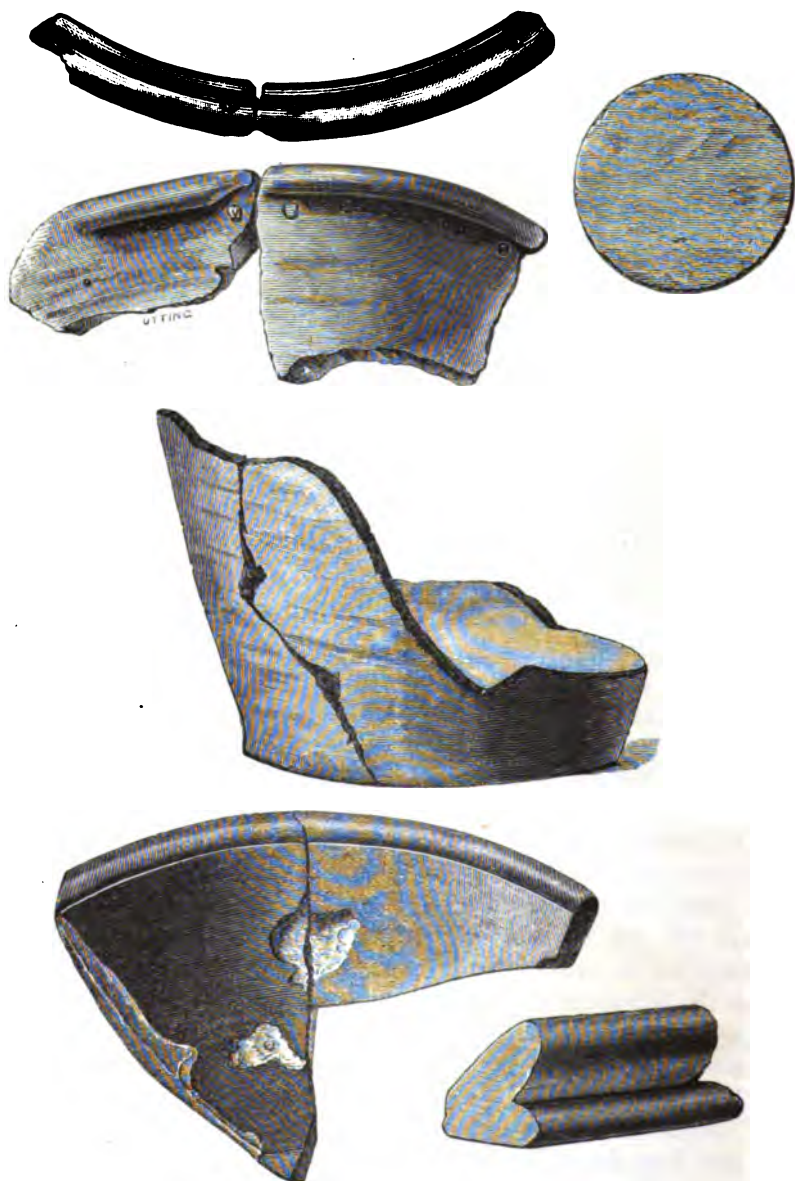
Greatly encouraged by finding so much of interest, and traces of urn burials so near the surface of the tumulus; on the 14th of December, 1875, we proceeded to make a systematic examination of the whole mound or tumulus. We commenced by removing the green sward on the south and west sides. At the base we found a well-built wall about 2 ft. 6 in. high of rough stones; those on the south side were larger and well-selected stones of a square form, two to three feet square. The wall appears to have been built as a support for the sandy mound; it followed

<sup>4</sup> Only three intaglios are known to have been found in North Wales, the one I have just described, at Hereri Mons in 1868 (mentioned in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," 3 Series, vol. xiv., p. 476), the one at Porth Dafarch in 1875, and the one found at Dinas Duille, near Carnarvon, about 1750. Of the latter I have obtained the following account from my friend Mr. C. K. Watson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries:—"Mr. James Williams, No. 6, St. James's Place, exhibited to the Antiquarian Society a ring which was found about 60 years ago in the ruins of an old Roman fortification at Dinas Duille, four miles from Car-

narvon, and which he wore as a ring for the last 40 years. To which was added by way of illustration what Suetonius says in the 'Life of Galba,' 'that fortifying a town (Milan) which he had pitched upon for the seat of war, a ring was found of antique workmanship, in the stone of which was cut the goddess Victory, with a trophy' ('Suetonius a Galba,' cap. 10).—Extract of a Minute of the Society of Antiquaries, 5 Nov., 1810. I may add that the impression on the ring represents an armed figure holding in the right hand a Niko and in the left a spear with shield at the base.—C. K. WATSON, 1876."

the curve of the tumulus all round. The whole side of the hill under the turf was thickly strewed with stones placed close together, with a view probably to prevent the drift of the sand, which is very great near the sea in stormy weather. On clearing away the sand from the top of the mound, about four feet from the surface, we came upon a well-formed grave or cist made of several flat stones set edgeways. The length of the coffin was 6 ft. 5 in., by 2 ft. 6 in. wide, placed nearly E.S.E. and N.N.W. On removing the covering stones, which had been most carefully laid overlapping each other so as to prevent the sand from filling the coffin, the interior was found to be entirely filled with black earth. From the slimy appearance of the covering stones cemented together with mud, it was clear that the cist had become entirely filled with the black earth by filtration, caused by the rain percolating through the sand. The body was placed with the feet to the east. In order to examine the contents we had to take away the stones of the cist, which could not support themselves on the removal of the sand around them. A portion of the skull and the large bones of the arms and legs were alone to be found. All other bones were entirely decayed; the arms had been crossed upon the breast; underneath the body, which had been stretched out full length, was a bed of charcoal four or five inches thick, and below that a bed of clay six inches deep, then the pure sand of the tumulus. The body presented the appearance of having been partially burnt, from the absence of all the small bones and vertebræ of the back, as was very customary before cremation was entirely superseded by ordinary burial in the earth. In the "*Horæ Ferales*," p. 98, Mr. Kemble writes, "A striking instance occurs to me of an interment in which fire appears to have been introduced almost by stealth, although the bodies had evidently not been exposed to the full power of the pile. Some years ago, at Elza, near Hildesheim, a barrow was opened. Upon its basis were found six holes or kists, as they are sometimes called. Five of them were nearly filled with ashes of wood, and over each a skeleton lay at full length upon its back. The sixth hole was not so occupied, but close by it stood a small urn, and a spindle-whorl, the only implement of any kind discovered in the barrow; the base was encircled by a circle of stones. It has been conjectured that this is an interment of a





Fragments of pottery found at Porth Dafarch.



←----- 7 1/4 in. -----→

Fragments of Samian and other pottery found at Porth Dafarch.





transition state of Christians who had not yet entirely relinquished pagandom, or, if pagans, who, though dread of the law prevented them from raising a pile to consume the bodies entirely, had devised a plan of burning at least part of the flesh by means of fire lighted beneath the dead and fed with heather, sedge, ferns, where flames could not be seen far off. In like manner Abbé Cochet found several skeletons at Parfondeval lying upon a stratum of ashes and charcoal."

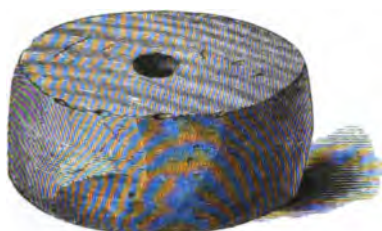
This accords precisely with what we found in the burials at Porth Dafarch, the ashes being apparently of heather, ferns, &c., not presenting the consistency of wood charcoal. This interment must have been made by excavation from the surface, as the sides of the kist could not support themselves and must have fallen to pieces without the surrounding sand acting as a support. There were no flat stones under the body; it rested upon charcoal or other burnt substance. The next day we cleared the entire top of the mound, and to our great surprise at a few feet distance from the grave we exposed the walls of a circular hut habitation like those at Ty Mawr, described in my former account. The walls were about 3 ft. 6 in. in height and 6 ft. thick, formed of a wall of stones outside and inside filled with sand;—small flat stones from the seashore lined the wall inside. The entrance was as usual to the south-east; the coffin was placed right across the entrance, affording another proof that it had been made long after the hut ceased to be inhabited. The circular space inside the hut was filled with a dark, black peaty soil similar to that found in the grave. This black earth, being confined to the hut and close around it, I suspect, was from the heather turf which formed the covering of the roof having fallen down and filled the interior when the hut was destroyed. Mixed with the black soil were fragments of pottery, bones of animals, and some human bones, a stone hammer and pounding stones, and in several places little hoards of stone, beautifully polished with great care, from the size of a nut to a walnut.<sup>5</sup> The pebbles were all chosen for their beauty, and are mostly agate flints such as a child would pick up when wet with the sea. In the hut was a stone mortar or quern supported on a pedestal of

<sup>5</sup> These polished stones were found in the Ty Mawr huts. They were probably used to play some game.

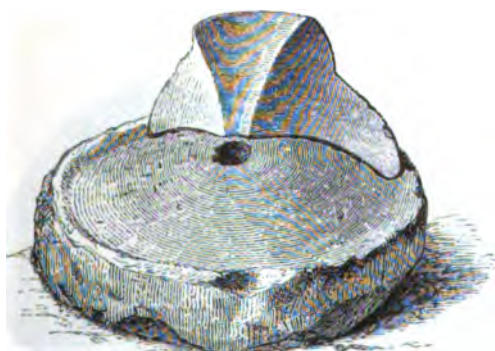
stones. This quern was filled with the black soil, and in it was a fragment of ornamental Samian pottery representing horses prancing. A stone table was built into one side of the walls of the hut supported by large stones. There was a square fireplace 2 feet square, the same we came upon when the trench was first made in the mound ;—part of the floor of the hut was flagged. In the centre three stones were sunk in the floor as if to support a pole fixed by them to reach the roof, to which the rafters might be attached. This rude ruck of stones were observed in all the hut circles at Ty Mawr, from which we may presume the roofing was made of timber spars covered with sods of heather, leaving a circular hole at the top for ventilation. Two large stones were fixed in the floor, standing about two feet from it ; by the marks upon them they appeared to have been used as anvils.

This most unexpected discovery that the mound was no sepulchral tumulus, but a habitation covered with the sand drift to the depth of three or four feet, changed all our previous views. It appeared that the hut was the primary establishment on the mound, built on the top with a well-formed wall round the base of the mound ; that it must have been destroyed by violence, deserted for a length of time, and gradually covered with the drift sand and so formed into the grassy tumulus we first observed ; and that from the nature of the tumulus, the deposit of urns and later burials in stone kists were made by various races of men, in entire ignorance that a habitation and other buildings were concealed beneath the sward.

We next proceeded to excavate on the west side, nearer the sea, what appeared to be a separate mound divided from the larger one by a hollow in which ran the protecting wall at the base of the first mound before mentioned. We soon came upon walls forming a triangular chamber, the walls of which were about three feet high ; on the top of the walls were two flat stones fixed : apparently they had been used for grinding some substance, as they were smooth and polished. Inside this chamber was a grave dug in the floor, 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. ; the grave was lined with small flat stones on the sides ; it was placed E.S.E. and N.N.W. The skull and arm bones alone remained ; the head was laid on the left side, carefully propped up with three flat stones under it. The skull was preserved perfect.



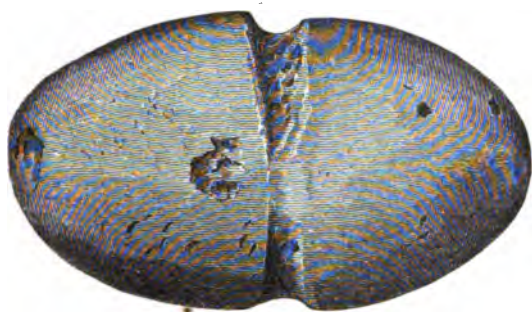
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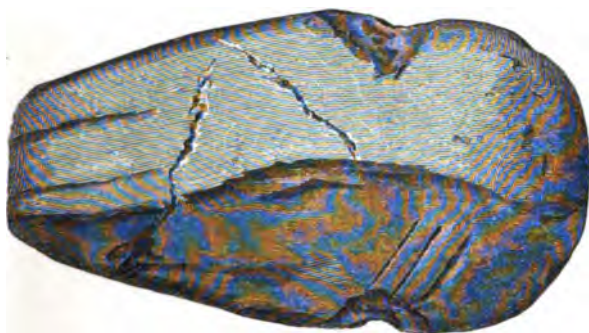
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Whorl and quern found at Porth Dafarch.

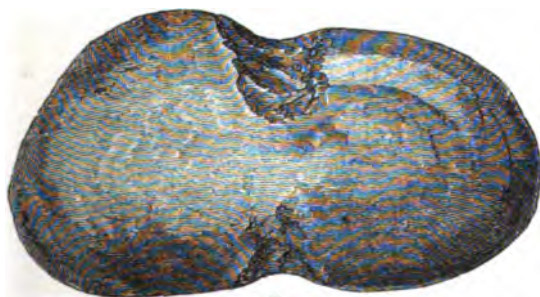




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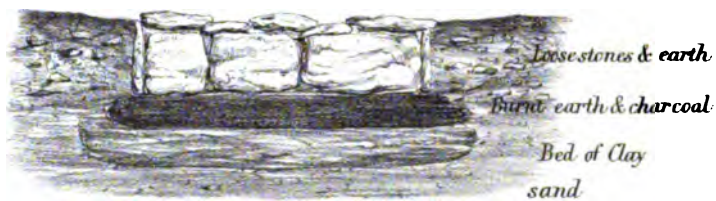
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Stone implements found at Porth Dafarch.

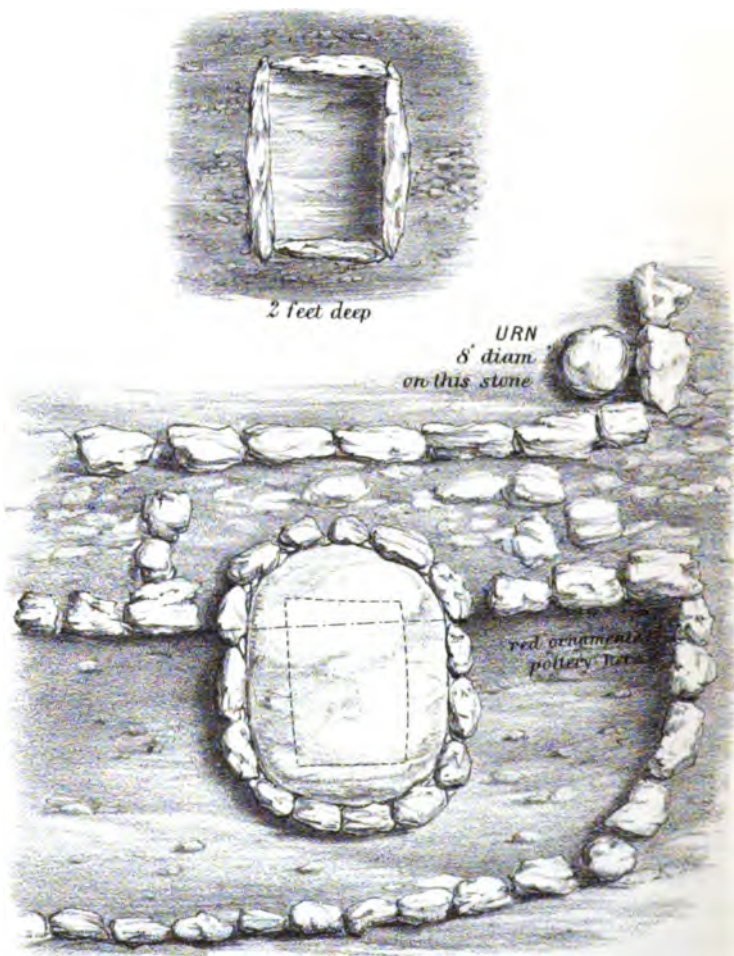








Grave at B.



Enlarged Plan of hole with cover &c at A

The body was laid east and west; the arms were crossed over the top of the head.<sup>6</sup> The grave was full of charcoal, on which the body was laid, with clay underneath, and great quantities of limpet and periwinkle shells. Within a few feet to the west were two other skeletons without any coffin laid in the sand, a flat stone under the head, the bodies placed on charcoal and clay like the others. The graves were about three or four feet from the surface. A little below these graves a large upright stone appeared, and under the wall near the sea a heap of round white quartz pebbles of the size of paving stones formed a sort of cairn. On clearing these away a large flat stone was exposed 5 ft. 4 in. by 4 ft.; the wall was built on half of it. On taking this down and removing the stone, which required three men, as it was near nine inches thick, the covering stone was found to be placed upon a rectangular cist formed of four flat stones 2 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. The covering stone had been most carefully packed round with small stones, to prevent anything from falling into the cist. It was quite empty, with only a slight sprinkling of sand not half-an-inch thick; the bottom of the cist was clay. The cist from its appearance could never have been opened since the cover was put over it. At the end of the cist was a large stone 8 ft. long by 3 ft. broad lying down, but had probably been a *maen hir* to mark the spot. Several fragments of highly ornamented pottery similar to the drinking cups found in Bronwen's urn, and in a grave at Rhosbeirio<sup>7</sup> were placed at the back of a skeleton buried in a crouching form. Near to the square cist we came upon a few stones which had covered an urn, but it crumbled to pieces on the touch. The lower portions when placed together gave the diameter of the urn eight inches outside; it was made of coarse brown clay very imperfectly baked, the exterior light brown, but black inside. The urn varied in thickness from two-thirds to three-quarters of an inch; it was quite plain, without any scorings. The urn had been placed with the mouth downwards on a flat stone; it had been protected by stones laid one upon the other so as to form a dome and a flat stone at the top, very similar to those found in 1848. There were no ashes or bones to be found very near the spot where

<sup>6</sup> The skull was fractured as it seemed from a heavy blow.

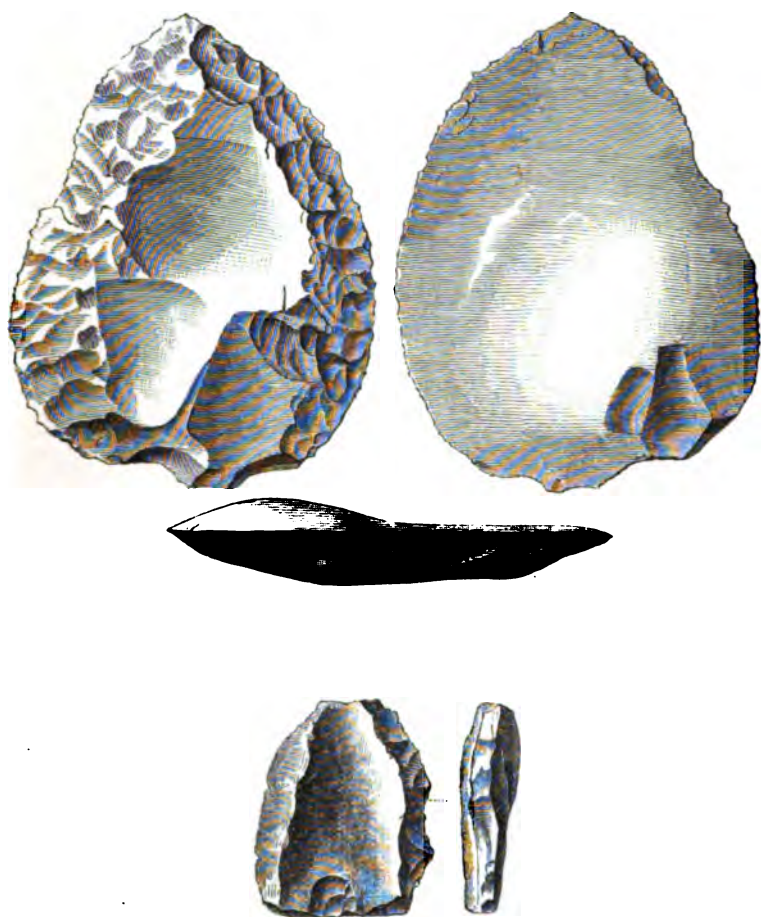
<sup>7</sup> See Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv., p. 27.

this urn was found. We dug up a finely worked white flint spear-head or knife, with a sharp edge for cutting. The spot where these objects were found was not twenty yards from the place where the urns were got in 1848 and on the same level; the present road to the seashore divided them.

A second hut of larger dimensions than the first was excavated, near the road, of 35 ft. diameter; two fire-places in the usual form, but nothing else was discovered, and being close to the road and 12 ft. below, we could not extend our works further. Another cluster of chambers had been opened out in the first mound to the north: the principal one was flagged; one had a hole 4 in. diameter worked through it, and near to this the lower portion of a mill for grinding corn was fixed to the floor, made of grit stone; a portion of the upper stone, made of trap, was near it. Several long chambers opened out from this, flat stones 5 ft. and 8 ft. long set on edge forming the sides. There were many pounding stones (one 26 lb. weight), stone hammers, and pieces of iron much corroded, which might have been spear-heads from the shape. A singular ornament of bronze was dug up six feet below the surface—together with a flat stone deeply coloured with red hæmatite, on which it seemed to have been ground, like one discovered at Pen y Bonc. A singular conglomerate of crushed quartz and other stone seemingly cemented with red iron ore into a compact mass, which had been formed in a mould, was also dug out from these chambers. Whilst writing this account I chanced to read a paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland so applicable that it may assist us in forming our opinions on the excavations at Porth Dafarch, and the probable date of the habitation and the interments on the mound there.

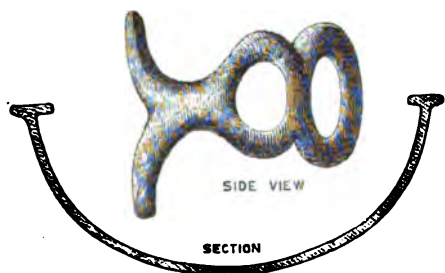
In Mr. Petrie's account of the Brock of Birsay, in Orkney,<sup>8</sup> he says:—"An examination of this structure showed that at some earlier period it had become ruinous and that in course of time the fallen stones had been overgrown with soil to a depth of several feet. The brock had thus presented the appearance of a green mound, and it was then selected as a place of interment by a people who buried their dead in stone cists and deposited bronze ornaments

<sup>8</sup> Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. viii., p. 45.



Objects of flint found at Forth Dafarch.





Ornament of bronze, and pounding stone, found at Porth Dafarch.



with them. In some of the many cists placed in the brock burned bones appeared, and in one a piece of a bronze fibula was found with fragments of some other bronze objects, thus presenting the same appearance as the sepulchral deposits in the stone circles and cairns of ancient times."

I have now concluded the record of my excavations of this remarkable sand mound at Porth Dafarch, entering into considerable detail and accompanying them with a plan and engravings of the articles found. It is most difficult to attempt any formal conclusion as to dates from the very varied nature of the discoveries, some relating to the stone age, others to the bronze; the earlier urn burials must be attributed to Pagan times. The bodies buried in stone cists partially consumed by fire point to the transition age between Paganism and Christianity; these must have been made by digging from the surface of the mound. The bronze ornaments may be Roman or Celtic; for there is much similarity to those found in Ireland as well as at the Roman camp of Caer Leb. The intaglio is without doubt of Roman or Romano-British manufacture, however it may have come to the mound; the bone pin or needle will probably be of the same date or earlier.

One cannot help speculating upon the circumstances that brought together such singular records of occupation by different races of men in very early times; how such a secluded spot, so open to the furious blasts that sweep the ocean in winter months, could have been selected as a habitation; by what strange accident a Roman work of art like the intaglio came to be deposited in the mound, and what induced successive generations to bury their dead in such various ways in the same mound of drift sand which covered the hut circles and many chambers around them. I have already suggested that the bay may have been the resort of Irish rovers in the first or second century of the Christian era; possibly a Roman vessel coasting the shores of Anglesey may have been wrecked or plundered there, the bodies cast ashore, burned by the friends, the ashes placed in urns and here deposited, the intaglio also placed with the ashes. The bay is so exposed and dangerous that no ship could venture to remain there unless drawn up on the beach above high water. The earliest inhabitants of Anglesey may have selected the spot for their habitation from the



proximity to the sea, as they must have lived on the produce of the chase or on fish and shell-fish.

The stone implements are very rude, and denote no great proficiency in their manufacture, being mostly pebbles from the shore selected from their adaptation to the hand for the use required. The men were a hardy race, seeking shelter in the huts only at night or in very inclement seasons; they mostly lived in the open air during summer time.

How are we to account for the numerous fragments of pottery?—one piece having been mended with iron wire would prove it was rare and of value. We found the same at Pen y Bonc, as described in my former account. The pottery appears to be British or Roman; some of the fragments of Samian are very superior of their kind. Here the important question presents itself for our consideration—Was the hut inhabited by an early race previous to the interments found in the mound? If so, it leads us back to earlier times than the Roman occupation of Anglesey. From the peculiar position of the urn burials, so near the surface at the top of the mound and in such close proximity to the wall of the hut circle, I do not think it possible that the building could have been constructed after these interments were made in the tumulus. From every appearance I must conclude that the hut habitation was the first placed on the mound; that it was destroyed, deserted for a long time, during which it was entirely covered with sand drift and formed into the green mound as we first saw it before our excavations, and that, presenting the appearance of a sandy tumulus, it offered peculiar facilities of urn and other interments; and that these probably were of the Romano-British period, but were made in entire ignorance that deserted habitations were buried beneath the surface. The remains of the ancient fire-place for cooking, near which the bronze brooch was found, and the Samian pottery, show that the spot may have been the resort of Irish rovers, as the Bay of Porth Dafarch is nearest to Wicklow, in Ireland; it would also be the best adapted for the Romans when sailing from Segontium (Carnarvon).

I have given the fullest description I could of all we brought to light in our excavations, and it must be left to more learned persons who peruse this memoir to form their own conclusions from the data given. Prof. Owen examined

the bones found, and informed me they were of *bos longifrons*, red deer, sheep or goat, wild boar, fox, and a tooth of some larger carnivorous animal. I am sorry to record that the bone pin, Samian pottery, and perforated horn (figured on pl. i.) were stolen from a box which contained them during transmission by the London and North-Western Railway. Should the articles meet the eye of any one in any private or public collection, I shall be obliged by hearing about it. The engravings will render them easy to be recognized.

STELLA'S "DECEM PUELLÆ."

By C. W. KING, M.A.

MARTIAL makes one of his epigrams to turn upon a joke, the meaning of which has never been satisfactorily explained:

"Quod nutantia fronte perticata  
Gestat pondera Masthlion superbus ;  
Aut grandis Ninus omnibus lacertis.  
Septem quod pueros levat vel octo,  
Res non difficilis mihi videtur ;  
Uno cum digito, vel hoc vel illo,  
Portet Stella meus decem puellas."<sup>1</sup>

"I don't think it so wonderful a feat if Masthlion carries great weights upon a pole balanced on his forehead, or if big Ninus holds out seven or eight boys at once upon his outstretched arms, when my friend Stella can carry *ten girls* upon a single finger, either this one or that."

That the allusion is to a *ring* is evident enough, but in what sense this same ring was the equivalent to ten girls is the question to be answered. Raderus, an old commentator on Martial, quoted by Selmuth in his additions to the "*Antiqua deperdita et Nova reperta*" of the famous jurist Pancirollus, supposes the ring to have been set with a "Nature picture" of such a group, similar in kind to the celebrated agate of Pyrrhus, which also contained *ten* figures—Apollo and the Muses nine, each with her proper attribute, accurately depicted by the hand of Nature. This ingenious explanation of the old scholiast would have satisfied every requirement of the case (for such a wonderful production were certainly a suggestive theme for an epigrammatist), had it not been for another piece by the same hand, inspired beyond all doubt by the same remarkable jewel, and which proves that the question is not of *one* but of *several* gems, which for some sufficient cause were entitled "*The Ten Maidens.*"

<sup>1</sup> V. 12.

"Sardonychæ, smaragdus, adamantas, jaspidas, uno  
 Versat in *articulo* Stella, Severe, meus :  
 Multas in digitis [digito ?], plures in carmine gemmas  
 Invenies—hinc est hæc, puto, culta manus."<sup>2</sup>

Now, if Stella wore all these precious stones "upon one finger-joint," and was able to "turn them all about at once"—for that is the true force of "versat" in this connexion, it is a necessary consequence that all these gems were set in one and the same ring. The term "versat" may equally be taken as evidence that they were not set in a "cluster" upon the head of the ring, as is the modern fashion, but at *equal distances* around its whole circumference : so that each in turn might be brought into view by the revolution of the hoop upon the finger, when the wearer desired to display all their beauties.

But now, supposing this explanation to have so far met the requirements of the case, the most curious point of all remains to be determined—what "Ten Maidens" go together in the ideas of those times of sufficient importance to receive such high honours from a man, himself a poet, and, what was more to the purpose with his *clientela*, a most liberal patron of other poets? And fortunately the question is answered by another of his literary dependents, the Neapolitan Statius, whom, by the way, Martial himself never names, but evidently often hits at by a side-blow amongst the envious and malignant rivals of whom he is constantly complaining. Statius in one place introduces—

"Aonias *decima* cum Pallade divas."<sup>3</sup>

implying that the goddess of Wisdom made up the number of the Aonian choir to *ten* ; and again, in his "Épithelamium of Stella and Violantilla," he brings in the same mystic number by means of a very far-fetched prosopopœa. Moving the Muses "to descend from Helicon, and wave their nine-fold torch" at the wedding feast, he goes on :—

"Quas inter, vultu petulans Elegeia propinquit  
 Celsior assueto, divas que hortatur et ambit,  
 Alterneum fultura pedem : *deimamque* vocari  
 Se cupit, et medias fallit permixta socores."

Now, as Elegiac poetry was the special department of Erato, Statius must have had some very cogent reason for

<sup>2</sup> V. 11.

<sup>3</sup> I. IV. 20.

inventing a *tenth* Muse to represent that department in the festal choir. All these efforts seem to point to some well-known connexion between this new Mæcenas and some particular *ten* maidens ; and that these ten maidens were in some way symbolized by the ring he wore as his badge with so much ostentation, is a fact placed beyond all doubt by the joke of Martial.

The first explanation that presents itself is that this ring was set with gems, each engraved with the figure of a Muse as usually represented. For this we have the precedent of that tasteful Mint-master at the close of the Republic, Pomponius *Musa*, who has immortalized himself by his set of denarii, each bearing one of the nine sisters at full length, to be recognised by her proper attribute ; and with her head for obverse, similarly distinguished ; the family likeness in the ladies being too strong to allow of our identifying them by their looks alone. In those simple-minded times, Pomponius had felt no scruple to make up their number to ten by the addition of a vigorous "Hercules Musarum," arrayed in lion's hide, and twanging the lyre as he marched at their head ; but under that great stickler for propriety, the Censor Domitian, the lusty god had evidently been discharged from his office of their guardian, and his place given to that ancient maiden Minerva, as obviously the most fitting president of a Ladies' College.

This, the most ready solution of the difficulty, is, however, absolutely upset by the fact that one of the gems named by Martial is the *diamond*, a stone which the ancients, so far from being able to engrave, were always forced to employ in its native condition, and the mastery of which was the greatest triumph of the lapidary's art at the Revival. The *emerald*, too, was at this time, says Pliny, "spared by the common consent of mankind for the sake of its beauty, and not allowed to be scratched by the engraver." Though *four* stones only are specified by the poet, the ring doubtless contained as many different kinds as there were personages to be symbolized ; because to name the remaining six consecutively, besides taxing the metre beyond its powers, would have made the lines simply ridiculous. But a tolerably certain guess may be hazarded here. The other gems then in highest esteem, and therefore most likely to have been selected to appear in this glorious company, were

the opal, sapphire (*hyacinthus*), spinel, Oriental topaz, almandine, and pearl. Each Muse must have had a particular stone in the set consecrated to her for some fanciful reason, but readily appreciated at the time by all who looked upon it, just as our "regard" rings convey their meaning by the juxtaposition of a ruby, emerald, garnet, amethyst, ruby again, and diamond. No traces, it is true, appear in Pliny of precious stones being consecrated to particular deities, except in the case of the "Solis gemma," and the "Selenites," yet there is the strongest reason to suspect that the mediæval astrologers and divines gave to each of the zodiacal signs, and of the Apostles, his proper gem, either following some classical authority, or else the prescriptions of the Magi, perpetually quoted by Pliny for all superstitions connected with the precious stones; or perhaps going upon the precedent of Aaron's breast-plate, in which each of the Twelve Tribes was represented by a gem of its own. Philostratus, again, may give us a little help in this difficulty, where he tells how Iarbas the Brachman gave Apolloneus of Tyana a set of rings for the days of the week, which secured him in never-failing health; although unluckily he does not add the manner in which the influence of each day was represented—whether by a *segil* cut on the stone or by the *species* of the stone itself—yet the gift coming from the fountain-head of all such fancies, the latter was probably the case. If so, the connexion of gem with day may have followed the same rule as that laid down by the old alchemist, Petrus Arlensis, in his directions for making "planetary rings," where Sol gets the diamond or the sapphire, Luna the crystal, Mercury the loadstone, Venus the amethyst, Jupiter the carnelian, Saturn the turquoise. For further authority in this matter may be cited the "Prosa" of the early Norman poet Marbodius upon the building-stones of the New Jerusalem, showing how each sets forth a particular virtue in the Christian character—the jasper *Faith*, the sapphire *Hope*, the emerald *good works*, &c. Perhaps, therefore, Stella's imagination, guided by chimeras like the above, had discovered in the colour or quality of the gems in his ring something analogous to each department over which the Aonian Sisters presided. It is obvious that the almandine would match well with Melpomene's "sceptred pall," the topaz with Thalia's "saffron-coloured sock," the

emerald with the hopefulness of Erato. It were idle to pursue further similar coincidences with the characters of all the rest. But there can be no question that Minerva, as the special patroness of the reigning prince, at once took possession of the *diamond*.

The solution now offered of this long-disputed question was lately suggested to me by the sight of a ring in the well-furnished cabinet of Mr. Franks, presenting many peculiarities that at once called to my mind the most salient points in Martial's allusion. This ring, which by Mr. Frank's obliging courtesy we are permitted to re-produce, is



Gold ring, with precious stones alternating with the letters of the name ISATUR.

of solid gold, of equal width throughout, cut into ten sides ; each presenting in pierced work one letter of the name *ISATUR*, alternating with a small precious stone<sup>4</sup>—a sapphire, a balass ruby, an emerald, a garnet, &c. Bearing in mind the innumerable superstitions connected with these gems in the popular belief of Roman times (so frequently laughed at by their recorder, Pliny), we cannot but believe that each of these gems was put in the place it occupies for the purpose of insuring some particular blessing to the wearer.

The same ring throws light upon another curious point of dactyliology, which, without such assistance, might have remained for ever undecided. In a very interesting inscription, found at Alicante, and published by Montfaucon (Plate 136), a certain pious old lady, Fabia Fabiana, dedicates to an unnamed goddess, apparently Isis, in honour of her grand-daughter, besides a large quantity of plate, all the contents of her jewel-box. This comprises, besides bracelets, anklets, and several rings, "on the little finger two, set with diamonds," on the next finger one "annulus polypsephus," with emeralds and a single pearl. This last was not what is now called a "cluster ring," where the head is formed by a single stone, surrounded by others in a circle,

<sup>4</sup> The second letter of the name is the cursive S, which came into use in later Imperial times. It is found on a large gilt bronze ring from Richborough, in the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. The

name *ISATUR* looks like that of a Romanised barbarian; but there can be no doubt it is merely a proper name, and contains no further mystery.

that fashion being of modern origin and dating only from the Renaissance. For if cluster rings had been worn in ancient Rome, imitations of them would infallibly be met with amongst the innumerable specimens preserved of *ornamental*, as distinguished from *signet* rings, in base metal set with precious stones in paste. It will be observed that this "annulus polypsephus" has all the stones in it of one and the same species—that is, emeralds: the single pearl, so specified, must therefore have been introduced for some special purpose; perhaps to mark the commencement of a legend, which, upon the authority of the ring now before us, we may reasonably conjecture alternated its letters with the emeralds. And this interpretation of "polypsephus" is further supported by the ring found amongst the Roman remains at the back of the Mansion House (1860-1), and figured in this Journal (vol. xix. p. 172). Its pattern may best be described as a series of nine connected bosses, formed out of the solid gold of the circlet, each holding a precious stone—a blue spinel, an emerald, a sapphire, a garnet, &c. Here again we meet with the significant number *Nine*, probably in this case, also, chosen with reference to the nymphs of Helicon. At this late period of the Empire all the names and numbers of the old mythology were taken in a talismanic sense. We find the Three Graces frequently engraved on loadstone, accompanied with legends that plainly tell the reason for their being so honoured in an utterly graceless age. It is but reasonable to infer that the companionship of the Muses brought with it similar blessings to their protégées, and that the wearer of such a talisman would expect from it more material advantages than merely—

"To hear the Muses in a ring  
Aye round about Jove's altar sing."

The same idea was carried down in the traditions of the jewellers' craft far into the Middle Ages. The prettiest example of the sort that can be adduced, is a ring found at Higham, near Norwich, and figured in this Journal (vol. xx. p. 172). This, however, is set with but a single stone, a ruby; the place filled by the others in the antique "polypsephus" is here held by small raised quatrefoils, dividing the words of the two inscriptions, or "posies." The shank being of triangular section, the two external sloping sides



are thus inscribed—AMOR VINCIT OMNI, and IE SUI ICI EN LIV. ; declaring plainly enough the purpose of the jewel, a love token, or perhaps an espousal ring.<sup>5</sup>

These actually existing examples of the "annulus polypsephus," with its studied variety of precious stones, agree too closely with the poet's hints (so far as they go), to leave much doubt in my mind as to the real character of the subject of the two epigrams. They show the possibility of its being a ring set round with gems of ten different species. That the title of the "Ten Maidens" could be most appropriately applied to the Muses and their governess Minerva, seems put out of doubt by the pointed expressions of Statius—a person also honoured with the patronage of the owner of the famous jewel, and who has evidently some very cogent reason for swelling the regular number of the Nine up to *Ten*, in verses dedicated to the same patron. That precious stones were amongst the most acceptable offerings to the powers divine, appears from numerous passages in ancient writers, the most striking of which is to be found in Lucian's description of the temple of the "Syrian Goddess."

That Stella, a professed votary of the tuneful sisters, should have secured their favour by dedicating a gem to each, was therefore only the following an established usage, but that some laudable ingenuity was displayed by him in the attribution and combination in one ornament of the gems so dedicated, may be set down as a fact from Martial's making the same ornament the subject of his verse.

The "Ten Maidens" finds an echo in the "Three Brothers" and "Twelve Mazarines," celebrated in lapidary annals, though titles given for a different cause. The "Three Brothers" were the great rubies that guarded the famous diamond of Charles the Bold in his pendant jewel, equally matched in size and colour, true "tergemine." The "Twelve Mazarines" were the largest crown diamonds of France, which the tasteful Cardinal had ordered to be re-cut in the *rose* pattern, invented under his auspices.

<sup>5</sup> The motto of Chaucer's Prioress.  
"And thereon henge a broche of gold  
full shene,

On which was first ywritten a crowned  
A,  
And after, AMOR VINCIT OMNIA."

A NOTICE OF SOME MSS. SELECTED FROM THE ARCHIVES  
OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.<sup>1</sup>

By J. B. SHEPPARD.

FROM the earliest times it has been known to students that the Muniment Chamber of Canterbury Cathedral contained an immense collection of unimpeachably authentic MSS. illustrating the social, political, and ecclesiastical history of bygone days. The old chroniclers, such as Gervase and William of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, and Thorne of St. Augustine's, have inspected and incorporated into their works the very parchments which are still preserved within these walls; and all who are called upon to refer to Wilkins' "Concilia," or Mr. Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus" will remember how frequent are the references to the Cathedral registers and to the "Chartæ Antiquæ Cantuar." Above all, our own Somner has ransacked these parchments, and, with the learning and judgment which seem to be heirlooms attaching to the office of Cathedral Auditor, has deciphered and transferred to his appendix many of the most interesting of them. In fact, I shall not be going too far if I say that but for the information stored up in these archives, the narrative of the vicissitudes of our national Church would be much less complete than it now is.

At the dissolution of the monastery of Christ Church in 1540 the number of MSS. was much more considerable than it is at present, and their artistic quality of a much higher class; but when the goods of the convent were scattered,—when the King seized the land and the treasure, a treasure so precious that gold and silver were the meanest part of the plunder—many richly bound books and grandly illuminated MSS. were carried off; a great part of them being happily destined to be absorbed into the Cottonian collection, or to find a resting-place in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. As for the less attractive MSS. they were not considered worth the stealing, and therefore, to the

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, 1875.

amount of about 5000, we still have them here, in the same building which received them when their ink was yet wet. Since the great spoliation of church property, this collection has been, as far as we know, safely kept together, two cases only excepted. In one case, a Kentish gentleman during Cromwell's interregnum acquired a duplicate charter of Philippe Auguste, which a short time ago figured in the catalogue of a London auctioneer. In the other case, a jackdaw stole a parchment of no great value from a room to which he gained access through a broken window-pane. The French King's charter has never returned, but the jackdaw's MS. escaped from the bird's beak and fell at the feet of the Rev. Mr. Bennet, at the time a Minor Canon of the Cathedral, from whom, after many years, it passed to the Rev. Frederick Rouch, who, as anyone who knows Mr. Rouch will readily believe, restored it to its proper place among the muniments.

The series of original MSS. extends in age from A.D. 742, when Ethelbald of Mercia gave to Archbishop Cuthbert a charter which is still here, down to the time of the great catastrophe of 1540. Of this latter event a characteristic memorial remains in the appraiser's catalogue of the silver plate found in the convent, wherein are set down the weight and value of every spoon, cup, and dish.

Besides the strictly *ecclesiastical* documents, which of course form the great bulk of the collection, there are many interesting records relating to matters of *national* importance, some of which were sent down to be preserved in the monastic treasury, there to be securely kept, safe from the sieges and plunderings to which even the strongest secular repositories were liable. Examples of MSS. of this class are the following :—

A contemporary record of the proceedings of Henry III. and his rebellious barons. This contains copies of the letters which passed between the parties concerned, from the time when Louis IX. was chosen to arbitrate, down to the 12th of May, 1264, two days before the Battle of Lewes. In it are found :—The award of Louis IX. ; the brief by which Urban IV. absolved the King from his oath to observe the provisions of Oxford ; the Barons' respectful address to the King ; the King's defiance to Earl Simon and his confederates ; and the separate defiance sent by the

King of the Romans and Prince Edward. From this or some similar collection the ancient chroniclers obtained copies of these letters, and from the chronicles the information here contained has passed into all the printed Histories of England.

In the second state paper are set forth the preliminary contracts by which Edward I. was appointed mediator in matter of the disputed Scottish succession.

Lastly, here is an official copy of a schedule of the reforms imposed upon Edward II. by the Barons of the Lancastrian faction in 1311. On the back of this roll is a memorandum which states that these ordinances were deposited for safety in the treasury of Christ Church, and thus explains how it happened that the schedule was sent to a peaceful monastery but little concerned in revolutions and political disturbances: "Et les dites ordinaunces et le confermement sunt en la tresorie de ceste eglise en garde."

More immediately connected with the Church of Canterbury, and valued as being among our greatest curiosities, are the two MSS. to which I now direct attention. These two parchments which, the signatures excepted, are duplicates of each other, record an episode in the year 1070 of a long-standing dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as to the supremacy and primacy of the former. The great interest of these records does not, however, lie in the subject matter, but in the fact that one of them bears the autograph signatures of William the Conqueror and his Queen, and of several of the chief ecclesiastics of their time.

Taking the first of these MSS., we see that it is attested by the King and Queen, followed by thirteen bishops, and eleven great abbots. It will be noticed that the number of witnesses accords with the description which all the writers of Church History, copying from Wharton, give of this well-known "*Composition*."<sup>2</sup> Examined closely, it will be seen that this MS. is written from end to end, text and signatures, by one and the same hand; hence it may be inferred that it is a copy, doubtless contemporary, doubtless taken from the original *Composition* actually executed by the personages whose names are appended on the day when this latter was written.

This other MS., which, as I have said, is a duplicate of the first, has the body of the deed written by the same hand

<sup>2</sup> Jer. Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 17.

which executed the whole of the first, *but the signatures are evidently the autographs of the persons who attested the deed.* Here are the *very* crosses which the Conqueror and his wife subscribed as substitutes for their signatures, they being perhaps "illiterate"<sup>3</sup>; and here, too, are the names of the more scholarly Lanfranc of Canterbury, and Thomas of York, written by their own hands, the Bishops of Winchester and Dorchester, of Thetford and Worcester also signing their names in characters as various in style as the writers were different in temperament. This second manuscript then, I claim to be the very parchment which was executed by the royal and reverend persons concerned; and this other, authenticated as it is by what was once the seal of the Conqueror, to be an official copy, intended for public inspection whilst the more precious original was kept in the treasury, safe from loss and injury. The copy, executed by its thirteen bishops and eleven abbots, has long been known and often quoted; but the original, attested only by two archbishops and four bishops, has never, as far as I am aware, been published until this day.

A sketch of the whole of the subjects dealt with in the MSS. of the present collection, if only a few words were given to each, would be tedious from its length, and at the same time obscure from its brevity; I therefore propose to select two topics about which we have a good deal of information, and which will give me the opportunity of bringing forward some interesting original specimens. First, I will piece together the story of how the Convent sometimes received, and sometimes failed to receive, a certain annual gift of 1600 gallons of wine from the hands of the Kings of France. Secondly, I will exhibit some documents illustrating the manner in which individuals and religious corporations united themselves by the bond of Mutual Society, each thus undertaking to perform charitable acts for the benefit of the bodies and souls of the others.

Beginning then with the history of the wine, I will mention that in 1179 Louis VII., as the chronicles tell us, alarmed by a dangerous illness which had attacked his son and heir-apparent, came over to Canterbury to

<sup>3</sup> See Arch. Journ. vol. iv. p. 249 for a facsimile of the cross signed by William

the Conqueror, and remarks upon such signs-manual.

seek the intervention of St. Thomas, the fame of whose miraculous cures had been for nine years in every man's mouth. Offering a magnificent jewel at the tomb in the crypt, where the body of the martyr then lay, the King returned to his own land, a wish which he expressed of seeing the capital, and other inland parts of England, having been coldly received by our own King Henry II. Arrived at home he found his son recovered or recovering, and, in gratitude for the cure, he gave to the Convent of Canterbury a yearly present of a hundred modii of wine. This story does not quite hang well together, for the charter by which the wine was conferred, being dated from Canterbury, indicates that the gift was made during the King's visit, and before he had had time to hear of the efficacy of his appeal to the saint.

The original charter given by Louis VII., which I here exhibit, is attested, as may be seen, by the King's seal and monogram—*Karacter*, as it is called in the body of the deed—and fortified by the signatures of the Royal Dapifer, of the Buticularius, of the Constable, and of the Chancellor. The Chancellor Hugo signs his name last of all, and it is stated that the charter was *given by his hand*, which may mean that it was written by him, or that, as Brompton reports,<sup>4</sup> it was laid on the altar by the Chancellor at the instance of the King. The conditions of the grant are as follow:—"The King, induced by the fame of St. Thomas the Martyr, late Archbishop of Canterbury, gives to the monks of St. Trinity a hundred modii of wine, of the measure of Paris, to be received yearly at the time of the vintage, in the Castle of Poissy, all tolls and duties, as far as the King's power extended, being remitted."

It is a singular fact, worthy of notice, that whilst reciting the causes which moved him to visit St. Thomas, the King makes no mention of the illness of his son. His own words—"Intuitu Beatissimi Martyris Thome, ad cujus tumulum, pro salute anime et corporis, in multa devotione, profecti sumus impetranda"—imply that care for his *own* soul and his *own* body brought him to Canterbury, and he nowhere hints that the grant was meant for a thank-offering expressing gratitude for any special mercy.

The King of England, coming to Canterbury, met his

<sup>4</sup> Brompton (Script. X.) Coll. 1140.

brother King, and, like a good knight, forbore to take advantage of the adversary who had trusted him. Gervase<sup>5</sup> tells us that on this occasion Henry rode all night, and so had a good opportunity of seeing an eclipse of the moon which occurred during the journey.

Louis VII. died in the next year, 1180, leaving the crown to his now recovered son, Philippe (II.) Augustus, who, upon ascending the throne, hastened, by a charter here before you, to confirm his father's gift. By virtue of this confirmation, the wine was evidently duly received up to the year 1189, when Philippe, on the point of setting out for the Crusade, gave this supplementary charter, in which he requires the Provost of Poissy to continue the supply of wine as heretofore, making up the quantity from the King's own cellar if the produce of the vineyards assigned for the purpose fell short of the *hundred muids*; in conclusion directing that the wine shall not be withheld even if after three years he shall not have returned from his pilgrimage. From 1189 to 1235 no writings carry on the history of the wine; perhaps we may infer from this silence that it was duly received; perhaps, however, on the contrary, it may be believed that the political complications at the end of the reign of our King John not only robbed the monks, then in exile, of their wine, but even made petitions and remonstrances hopeless. In 1235 Louis IX., reciting the charter of his great-grandfather, and the confirmation of that charter by his grandfather, added his own confirmation, and, as a farther assurance to the monks, executed still another confirmation in 1263. Philippe IV. in 1286, in his turn confirmed the grant of wine, quoting at full length the charter of his grandfather, St. Louis. Finally, in 1322, Charles IV. added the last example to this series of confirmations. Copies only remain of the second confirmation of St. Louis and of those of Philip IV. and Charles IV.; the originals have perished, but copies of all survive in the conventual registers.

From the time of Charles IV. to that of Louis XI.—a space of a hundred and fifty years—no farther charters or confirmations were given by the Kings of France, and it is probable that the general state of warfare then existing between the two countries deprived the monks of their

<sup>5</sup> Gervase (Script. X.) Col. 1457.

annual benefaction. In 1472 the energetic William Sellyng became Prior of Christ Church, and, taking advantage of the hypocritical professions of friendship which were then passing to and fro across the channel, he renewed the long silent claim, and addressed a petition to the King of France begging him to become a second founder of the annual grant of wine. We have here two charters, and a copy of another, given by Louis XI., which show that he lent a favourable ear to the Prior's petition, and not only resumed the delivery of the wine, but also agreed that instead of from the neighbourhood of Paris, where the fields were wasted and the vines destroyed, the wine should be sent from the Bordelais and from Touraine, districts suited for supplying a fluid more generous than the acerb vintage of Poissy. The second of these charters has, attached to it by a parchment ligature secured by the King's signet, a bundle of small warrants, all signed by great officers of the Court and all confirmatory of the royal grant. These appendices would doubtless do much towards removing the difficulties which smaller officials might be tempted to interpose between the royal giver of the wine and its far-distant receiver.

How long the wily King's grant remained operative we do not know, but it was long enough to secure the gratitude of the Prior and Chapter, who by a deed under the conventual seal, elected Louis to full communion with their monastery, making him a participator in the benefits of all their "prayers, masses, fasts, alms, vigils, and all other acts of piety." The Act of Chapter by which these privileges were conferred was of course sent to France, but Prior Sellyng's draft of a letter to the King, announcing the execution of the instrument, is here enrolled in this book entitled "Christ Church Letters." In this draft it is promised that the name of the King, together with the day of his *obit*, when the convent is informed of it, shall be entered upon the roll of their Martyrology or Register, and the anniversary be observed with such ceremonies as are reserved for their most honoured patrons.

On the next page of the same book is a letter which relates to the wine of St. Thomas, and in it there is an incidental allusion to a remarkable peculiarity of the last-mentioned king; a peculiarity which, thanks to Sir Walter Scott, who notices it in "Quentin Durward," is known to every Eng-



lish-speaking schoolboy on the face of the globe—better known, perhaps, than any personal peculiarity of any king who figures in European history. Louis XI., with his hatband of saints, stands, I will venture to say, a distinct figure before the minds of thousands of general readers, to whom all other French monarchs, from Clovis to Charles VII., are no more than formless shadows. This letter, then, which represents Louis as coveting an image of St. Thomas, to fill a vacant niche in his hatband, is a supplement to Sir Walter's description of Maitre Pierre, and some day may come to be enshrined as a note in a new and more sumptuous "Abbotsford edition" of the novels. I say Sir Walter's description, for, lacking his adoption of the story, it would have remained in the pages of Jean Bodin, hidden from all but laborious students.

This confirmatory letter, which was written by a London correspondent to Prior Sellyng at Canterbury, about the year 1480, begins thus:—"After all dew recomandacyon plesyth your lordshyp to undyrstond I have spokyn with the Frenshe Byshopp at Westminster; whereas he may not be with you at thys Ester, but wyll send unto you a letter be a man of his own, and also will be with you or that he passe over se, and proposyth to be a Brothyr of youre Chapter. And as for a pype of Wyne, he wold not for his bysshopereche receve noon of yow. *Also, Ser, ther is a man of his that bare youre letter and the cople of youre patent unto the Kyng of Fraunce, sayd unto me, that the Kyng of Fraunce askyd wheder that he had any tokyn of Saynt Thomas delyvered him from your lordshyp's wysdome, made as he mygth wer hit on hys hatt in the worshyppynge of Saint Thomas; the whiche wer to hymn a gret plesure.* What shall be don in this I remyt unto your Lordshyp."

After Prior Sellyng, Thomas Golstone, the second of the name, ruled the monastery, and was contemporary with Charles VIII. the son of Louis, to whom, as may be inferred from these rough drafts which lie on the table he addressed some most servile petitions. In the example now in my hand he cites the original grant and the confirmations of the king's predecessors, especially the generous renewal of the gift after long disuse by Louis, the king's father. He, of course, begs Charles to be as good to the Convent as his father had been, and he promises that,

in their turn, the monks will do for him all that they undertook to do for the late king :—"Orabunt autem assidue prefati oratores vestri omnipotentem Deum pro felici statu Serenitatis vestre dum vixeritis, post mortem vero pro anima vestra, ac animabus progenitorum vestrorum : ac pro pace inter Franciam et Angliam perpetuo conservanda." From these drafts, as I said above, we infer that some sort of petition was sent to Charles VIII., but the exact terms in which it was composed cannot here be ascertained—probably it bore a general resemblance to all these drafts, but exactly coincided with none. Whatever may have been the form of the petition, its result seems to have been valueless, for we do not find any answering charter bearing the style and title of Charles VIII.

In 1514 Nicholas Lytlington, at the time an official of the diocese of Canterbury, inspected and copied all the charters relating to the wine which were extant at that date. What may have been the object of this collection we know not ; probably a petition was sent to Louis XII. with a copy of the certified charters. If this were so it was productive of no good result, for the name of Louis XII. is, like that of Charles VIII. his kinsman, absent from the list of charters. Thus far, then, the charters of gift and confirmation, the title deeds as we may call them, by which the claim to the wine was established.

The next step after obtaining the wine was to transport it to England at as small a cost as possible, and this the monks were enabled to do by the liberality of those of the French nobility whose estates lay between the vineyards and the coast. Canterbury possesses in large numbers the original instruments, fortified by the seals of the grantors, by virtue of which the Convent was permitted to convey its wine from Poissy to Whitsand, paying neither toll nor pedage by the way. Among the benefactors who were willing to forego their claims in favour of the Convent were the Counts of Poissy, St. Valery, Melun, Guisnes, Pontigny, Flanders, and Boulogne. Here, too, are charters of Henry II., Richard I., John, and Edward IV., which, dispensing with the customs dues ordinarily levied upon imports, brought the wine cheaply ashore into England.

The most modern notice which mentions the wine as actually received, occurs in the first year of Richard III.,

when Dr. Langton, a courtier and a zealous partizan of the Monastery of Christ Church, gives advice to the prior about shipping his wine which was warehoused at Bordeaux. At the time, discord was threatened between the two countries, and this, whilst it hindered the shipment, at the same time rendered the prior all the more anxious to get his property safely across to his own side of the channel. This letter is dated from York, whither the writer had gone in attendance upon the new King during the progress in search of popularity which he made in the first year of his reign. The portrait of Richard, sketched by Dr. Langton, does not in any particular resemble the popular idea of the crook-backed tyrant. Thus he writes :—

“Thys Kyng contenteth the people whar he goes better than ever did prince ; for many a poor man that hath suffred wrong many days have he relevyd and helped be his counsel ; and in many grete cities and townes was grete summes of money gyf hym which all he hathe refussyd. On my trouth I lyked never the condycions of any prince so well as his,” &c. The writer at the date had been promoted to the Bishopric of St. David’s, and was aspiring to that of Salisbury, which soon fell to him ; and, therefore, he was bound to be satisfied with a patron to whom he owed such rapid promotion. In connexion with his translation from St. David’s to Salisbury Dr. Langton quaintly writes : “I trust in God ye shal hastely here thythyngs of me that I am an Englysshman again, and no more Walshe.”

In one of the monastic registers are two pages filled with memoranda relating to the growing and collecting of this “Wine of St. Thomas,” whose history we are tracking. These memoranda are disjointed and crabbed in their style, and, therefore, I submit the substance rather than the text of the information which they contain :—

“At Triel and Cantelupe the King of France has certain tenants, who are bound to pay every year to the agent of the Canterbury Monastery, at the time of vintage, a cess of wine, large or small, in proportion to the size of their holdings.

“In cases of default the agent who represents at Poissy the Prior of Canterbury has a power of distraint, which must, however, be exercised through the provost of Poissy.

“At Triel the King has a special close of land which is let to a woman of Poissy, and she is bound to deliver half the red wine which the close produces to the King and half the white wine to the agent of Christ

Church, the remaining halves of both the red wine and the white being her own fee, to repay her for the cultivation of the close.

"At the end of the vintage the Prior's agent shall go to the Provost, and before him make a statement on oath, declaring how much wine he has received from the vineyards and from the special close; and if the total be less than a hundred muids, then the Provost shall furnish the balance from the castle cellar.

"At St. Brice the Convent of Christ Church owns two pieces of vineyard which the agent lets to tenants, who, by way of rent, pay half the produce of the vines."

I may here explain that the property at St. Brice came into the possession of the monastery by a deed of gift executed by one Richolda, the widow of Guido de Groolai, in the twelfth century. This gift is certified in two small parchments, which bear the seal of Peter Bishop of Paris. Returning to the memoranda we learn farther, that:—

"The tenants, both at Triel and at St. Brice, are forbidden to complete their wines (non debent fullare vina) except in the presence of the agent; lest they be tempted, by adding water, to make worse wine for the Convent than they do for themselves."

*An arpentum of vineyard ought to yield an average of eight muids of wine; that is, sometimes six and sometimes ten.*

In the year 1294, when war broke out between France and England, on the question of the territory of Guienne, Philip IV. arrested the Convent's wine, along with all the goods of English subjects found on French territory; but afterwards, in 1302, he restored the wine, and, in addition, gave 200 livres as damages and compensation for delay. At the same time he sent warrants to his Provost at Poissy, and to his treasurer, directing them to reinstate the Canterbury monks in all their former privileges, and to pay the 200 livres which he had assigned to them.

The register from which we get this information reports that at the same time Philip suspended the law which forbade the exportation of gold, silver and coined money, in favour of Prior Henry of Canterbury, who was in France attached to the suite of Edward I. From the copy of the instrument by which this grace was conferred, it appears to have been only an ordinary passport, permitting the Prior to enter and leave the country with his usual stately equipage, his horses, plate, personal ornaments, &c. Now considering that Prior Eastry was in the company of an

almost victorious invader, backed by 50,000 men, this passport seems to have been superfluous, if not impertinent.

In one of the portfolios are contained the reports furnished to Prior Eastry by Robert de Longo-Jumello, his resident agent at Triel, and by Peter Galais, who succeeded to the office after the death of Longjumeau in 1324. Among the accounts are some familiar letters from the agent asking for forbearance when his payments were in arrear; reporting the progress of his collections in the time of vintage; protesting against the calumnies of mischievous talebearers; and in one case complaining that the cloth sent from Canterbury for the writer's livery gown was not long enough by a yard. Another parchment has a title which may be rendered, "The census of the wine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, received at Triel, A.D. 1292." After the title follow a hundred lines of items, each line stating the name of a tenant who contributed wine, the designation of his vineyard, and the amount of wine which he contributed. This account proves that at the date, more than a hundred years after the first grant by Louis VII., the wine was collected upon the old plan, gallon by gallon, from the king's tenants; each person paying in proportion to the size of his vineyard. Here are other reports of a similar kind for the years 1288, 1289, and 1300. At the foot of one of these is a statement that the wine paid as rent at Triel amounted to 18 muys, 7 sestres and a half.

In 1324 Longjumeau, the agent, died, and Peter Galais, a citizen of Paris, took his place. It is proved by an entry made in this year that the wine was not transported to England, but was sold on the spot. The wine produced in 1323 amounted to six casks, and was sold for 16 livres of Paris. More wine was grown, but the Queen Isabella of England, who, with her son and Mortimer, was in France engaged in matters affecting the Crown of England, took two casks, for which she did not pay anything. In the same year the treasurer of the King of France paid 57 livres, on account of 28 muis, which were lacking from the Canterbury hundred. The summary for this year, 1324, states: "Et sic est profectus de vinis Francie, A.D. MCCCXXIV de claro in sterlingis xvii. lib. viii. s. x. d. ob." That is to say, that after all expenses had been paid in the year 1324, the convent netted something less than

17*l.* 10*s.* ; but even this was not an exceptionally bad year, for on one occasion the agent, alarmed at some seizures of provisions which the king was making for the use of his army in Flanders, sold off all the convent wine for 15 Paris livres. On this occasion he reports that the wine was "thick and in bad condition, and that the wines of this year were quite valueless":—"Cras et en mauvois point, et que les vins de ceste anne ne hont rien valu").

It may be asked, what did a *mui* contain, and how much did the hundred *muis*, which sold for 17*l.* 10*s.*, amount to? One of the Cathedral registers answers this satisfactorily, giving the various standards in use at Paris, St. Denis, St. Brice, Pontoise, and Triel. The standard of Paris, the only one which concerns us, seeing that Louis VII. prescribed that his gift was to be estimated by that measure, is thus described: "A Parys, ii. pintes funt une quarte, et quarte quartes sunt un sester; xvi. sestres sunt un mu, et vi. mus funt un tonel. <sup>xx</sup> Tel ke C muis sunt xvi. tonels et quatre muis—Tel ke <sup>iii</sup> xvi. sestres sunt un tonel." From this it appears that a sester, containing four quarts, was but a gallon translated into French, and that a *mu* of 16 sestres contained 16 gallons, and therefore that a hundred modii of "the wine of St. Thomas" amounted to 1600 gallons. This quantity we learn was exported in 16 tuns of 96 gallons each, with one smaller dolium containing the trifling balance.

One more question, but that an important one, remains to be solved: what *sort of wine* was this which resulted from the combined contributions of the tenants of St. Brice and Triel? For answer, it will be sufficient to point out that both St. Brice and Triel are within a few miles of Paris, and that the *vin du pays* of the neighbourhood of Paris is a liquid so austere and worthless that it can only be obtained outside the barriers; the trifling octroi duty, which would double its price, being sufficient to exclude it from the city. In fact, the *vin bleu* of the Parisian workman is the red wine which, we have seen, was reserved for the king, whilst the corresponding white, and by inference, inferior product, constituted the "Vinum Sci. Thome" of these records.

I now proceed to direct attention to the second subject I have mentioned as being illustrated by the Canterbury MSS. I must remind you, that all the great monasteries of

the middle ages, were accustomed to make contracts with each other, by which they stipulated, that upon notice being duly given of the death of a member of one house, the brethren of *all* the other associated houses should perform certain pre-arranged religious rites on behalf of the soul of the defunct. The announcement of the death was conveyed from monastery to monastery by a special messenger, who was styled "Brevigerulus" "Breviger," or "PortitorBrevium." If the departed monk were a simple brother of his order, a mere "breve" was considered to be a sufficient intimation of his death; in fact the dispatch of the "breve" was often delayed until the number of deaths had accumulated sufficiently to make it worth while to start the "Breviger" on his round. When, however, a prelate—a bishop or an abbot—passed away, a more solemn form of procedure was employed. A roll of parchment (technically *rotulus*) was prepared, and upon it was inscribed a catalogue of the virtues of the deceased, of the public employments which he had exercised, and of the benefits which he had conferred upon his own monastery, and upon the church in general; lastly, the roll expressed in mournful terms, the great grief of the brethren of the deceased, and called upon all who were bound by contract to do so, to perform the usual ceremonies for the repose of his soul.

With this short introduction, referring you for farther information to a learned paper by Mr. J. G. Nichols in the Norwich volume of the Journal of the Institute, I here direct notice to an important parchment, being the *very rotulus* which was sent round from convent to convent throughout eastern England after the death of John Hotham, Bishop of Ely, who died in 1336. At the head of the roll is a large illuminated initial letter containing a conventional representation of the defunct arrayed in episcopal vestments; this is followed by an elaborate eulogy of the Bishop, who, as a great churchman and a great statesman perhaps had really deserved laudatory epithets, which, if applied to a less distinguished personage, might be considered hyperbolic.

In this lament, the church of Ely is described as weeping as for an only son. She is Rachel mourning not her sons, but the father of her sons.

The defunct is declared to be another Jacob—"qui die

noctuque gelu urebatur et estu pro amoris magnitudine serviens pro Rachel." A second Moses—he was "dux populi." A second Aaron "Sacerdos magnus erat." "Matthias zelator legis Dei strenuus." "Johanathas amabilis ; et Symon vir consilii." "Erat honestis parentibus procreatus, et in domibus regum educatus mox generositate . . . . nobilitatus."

"Non obstante quâvis occupatione mundanâ psalterium Daviticum cotidie ex integro Regi regum decantavit."

"Erat in ecclesia angelicus, in aula splendidus, in mensa dapilis, in capitulo severus, arguens, increpans, obsecrans subditos in omni paciencia et doctrina."

At the end of the eulogy is a complete exposition of the *raison d'être* of these rolls :—Nam sepcies in die cadit justus, et nemo mundus a sorde, nec infans quidem unius diei—Et ob hoc, ineffabilis Dei miseracio humane fragilitati pie preordinavit, ut qui sibi non sufficit pro suis reatibus satisfacere, de suffragiis alienis, reconciliacionis remedium misericorditer consequatur—Unde iterato vestris pedibus, pietatis intuitu, provoluti crebris gemitibus, preces precibus humiliter accumulamus quatinus beneficiorum remedia que unicuique nostrum spem caritatis inspiraverint eidem Johanni velitis impartiri—Et que vel quanta fuerint devocionis vestre munera, cum titulis vestris, in scripto redigi devotissime supplicamus . . . . . Creator omnium rerum faciat nos seipsum revelata facie contemplari—Anima Dni. Johis. de Hotham quondam Episcopi Eliensis, et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei, requiescant in pace. Amen—"Nostri defuncti sunt vobis in prece juncti."

This long explanation condensed amounts to this : that any one whose acts of penitence do not suffice to atone for his trespasses, may acquire the necessary balance of pious deeds from the superfluous merits of others ; and therefore the monks of Ely beseech their brethren of the allied monasteries to bestow upon the deceased bishop a share in the benefits of their supererogatory devotions. The roll thus filled was sent round to the monasteries, twenty-four in number, which were in *mutual society* with Ely, and each, in turn, inscribed upon it its *titulus*, that is, the name of the monastery was written in full, the prayer for repose was added according to the formula given above, and the invocation asking for good offices in repayment concluded the *titulus*.



One example will serve to show the form of a complete *titulus* :—

“Titulus ecclesie Sce. Marie et Sci. Benedicti

“Rameseie—

“Anima Dni : Johis. Epi ; Elyens. et anime

“Omnium fidelium defunctorum, per

“Misericordiam Dei, requiescant in pace.”

“Amen—Oramus pro vestris, orate pro nostris.”

The monks of Croyland varied the closing invocation, to, “Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.” The Carmelites of Cambridge and the monks of Stow, insert after the name of the bishop, the words, “et anima Ricardi Monachi et acoliti ejus.” It is probable that this Richard was a monk of Ely, personally known to the Cambridge Friars and to the brethren at Stow. In the ordinary course of things when this *rotulus* arrived at Canterbury, the *titulus* of Christ Church ought to have been inscribed upon it and the bearer helped forward on his homeward road ; what the accident may have been which prevented this, we do not know, but to it we owe the possession of this valuable MS., which was intended to remain at Ely. You will remember that when speaking of the French wine, I told you that when Louis XI. renewed the grant he was received into *society* with Christ Church. I have no doubt, that at the time of his death, a *rotulus*, rich in royal heraldry was brought to receive the *titulus* of the Canterbury Convent. Edward IV. came to something of the same honour by a sidewind. It happened that before Cardinal Bouchier died, he established and endowed a chantry in his cathedral, neglecting, however, to obtain the King's licence for the amortization of the lands conferred by the deed of endowment. By this neglect the King had the opportunity of seizing the endowment, but he waived his right, and in gratitude, the Chapter received him into *Communion*, constituting him a co-founder of the Chantry. Among the MSS. will be found proofs that the monasteries of St. Bertin, St. Ouen, and Lyons, in France, and Waltham and Westminster in our own country were joined to Christ Church Canterbury by the strictest bonds of confraternity.

In a list of disbursements for the year 1221 there are many items which bear upon this subject. For example :—

"Portitori brevium pro Osberto Monacho VIII<sup>d</sup>—Pro Honorio—Pro Helya Longo."

"Portitori rotuli pro Willelmo priore, xi. s. iiii. d."

"Pro eodem rotulo faciendo—ii. s. x. d."

The deaths of simple monks were announced by "Brevia," the expensive *rotulus* being reserved for the prior.

In conclusion, I will draw attention to this handsome volume with its velvet bindings and brazen clasps. It contains the Indenture (expressed by the undulated upper edge of the lids) by which the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury bound themselves to observe the obits of King Henry VII., Margaret his mother, Edmond his father, and Elizabeth of York his consort. The seals, which hang from the lower margin are those of the King as a principal in the transaction, and of the Abbot of Westminster, and the Lord Mayor of London, in the character of trustees. The instrument is one of the counterparts of the well-known Deed by which that beautiful and stately edifice, the chapel of Henry VII. was established at Westminster Abbey, and to which the officials of Christ Church were parties, together with so many other important communities of the time.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Dean Stanley's "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," p. 162. The Royal copy of these Indentures, sumptuously bound, and having its depending seals enclosed in silver skippets, now preserved in the Public Record Office, has

more than once been exhibited at the meetings of the Institute. See Arch. Journ. vol. xviii. pp. 182, 278 (where the documents are more fully described) and vol. xix. p. 288.

ON THE BRONZE PORTRAIT BUSTS OF MICHEL ANGELO,  
ATTRIBUTED TO DANIELE DA VOLTERRA AND OTHER  
ARTISTS.

By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

ON the 5th of February, 1875, I had the pleasure of exhibiting to the members of this Institute, a wax medallion portrait of Michel Angelo, believed to be the original work taken from the life by his pupil *Leo Leoni*, and I took that opportunity of referring to other known portraits of the great Tuscan sculptor.

Those notes, together with an autotype of the wax medallion, and of Leo's medal modelled therefrom, were published in the "Arch. Journ." vol. xxxii., and I would now wish to offer a few supplementary remarks upon some of the portraits referred to in that paper, more particularly to the bronze head, the model of which is attributed to Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra, by Vasari, and generally believed to be by his hand.

Various works and notices, with documents from the Buonarroti archives, have since been published; moreover, a sojourn of some weeks during the last winter at Florence and elsewhere, enabled me to gather further information in respect to the bust, and to others in the same material existing in various collections, some of which have been attributed to other hands.

It will be recollected that Vasari (*Vita*, p. 260, ed. Lemonnier), in his *Life of Angelo*, after referring to the medallion portrait by Leo Leone, (*Leoni* or *Lione*, as it is variously spelt) states

"Di Michelagnolo non ci è altri ritratti che duoi di pittura; uno di mano del Bugiardino, e l'altro di Jacopo del Conte; ed uno di bronzo di tutto rilievo, fatto da Daniello Ricciarelli; e questo del Cavalier Lione."

Now it is well known that Vasari is not always the most accurate of historians, and that implicit faith cannot be

placed in all his records, nor in the completeness of his statements, but, in respect to the portraits referred to by him in the above passage, he doubtless would be well informed, and, had other busts of Angelo been executed by other known sculptors, in bronze or in marble, Vasari could hardly have failed to notice them ; more especially as he afterwards refers to that modelled from a plaster mask of the dead subject, taken, as it would seem, after the body had been conveyed from Rome to Florence, and sculptured in marble by Gio. Battista Lorenzi, for the Master's monument in S<sup>a</sup> Croce.

But to return to the bronze busts ; in my former paper I referred to

I. The bronze head fixed upon a bust of *bigio morato* marble, in the Capitol at Rome.

II. A similar bronze head at Oxford, fixed upon a bust made of plaster.

III. A bust, entirely of bronze, in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, which has been ascribed to Giovanni Bologna.

IV. A bust, also entirely of bronze, and also ascribed to Giovanni Bologna, now in the Museo Nazionale at the Bargello in Florence.

V. A bronze bust, figured in the Gazette des Beaux Arts (vol. xix. p. 330).

VI. A bust (head only) in bronze belonging to M. Piot (wrongly spelt Piaud) of Paris.

Let us now see what light recent publications may have thrown upon the history and the authorship of these bronze heads and busts.

The learned Director of the *Archivio* at Florence, Cavaliere Gaetano Milanese, in a notice on the portraits of Michel Angelo, forming the first of a series of short essays published on the occasion of the festival in 1875 by Sansoni of Florence, and entitled "*Michelangiolo Buonarroti ; Ricordo al Popolo Italiano ;*" at page 14 states that

"Among the portraits in relief of bronze, one, most celebrated, is in the Gallery of the Capitol, and from its beauty is considered by some to be the same as that recorded by Vasari as the work of Ricciarelli ; certainly not less beautiful is that in the National Museum of Florence. It belonged to Antonio del Francese da Castel Durante, the last servant of Michelangiolo, and, in 1570, was sent by him as a gift to the Duke of Urbino ; after his death it came with other precious objects into the possession of the Medici, through the Princess Vittoria, the last of the

house of the Della Rovere, and wife of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. M. Eugène Piot possesses another portrait of Michelangiolo, in the round and of bronze, said to be very fine. He maintains that it is the same that Antonio del Francese gave to the Duke of Urbino. But it appears to me difficult to believe that the portrait of the Casa Medici, into which it certainly passed by inheritance, should have been set aside and sold."

This latter remark is made in reference to M. Piot's opinion that not only is the bronze head that he possesses the identical one given by Antonio to the Duke, but that it was actually modelled by him, the son of a French joiner, who had executed constructive architectural models in wood for Michel Angelo after his designs.

The Bargello bust, together with a marble copy of the Moses, of reduced size and from the studio of Michel Angelo, also received from Antonio, had been for years in the Grand Ducal Villa the "Poggio Imperiale," whence they were brought to the National Museum, and there is every probability that it is the identical bust given by Antonio to the Duke of Urbino. But this bust has been attributed to Antonio del Francese, as an original portrait of his great master and executed by him. Let us also enquire further into this part of the subject.

Among the documents published by the Commendatore Aurelio Gotti in his "Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti" (8vo. Firenze, 12th Sep. 1875) and reproduced in English translation, with the addition of valuable remarks on the master's works by Mr. Heath Wilson in his more recently published "Life and Works of Michelangelo Buonarroti" (8vo. London, Murray, 1876), we find the following referring to these portrait busts, in letters addressed to Lionardo Buonarroti (Michel Angelo's nephew) from Diomede Leoni and Jacopo del Duca. In a letter from Diomede of 6th Oct. 1565, he writes <sup>1</sup>

"Gli ricorderò (a Daniello) egli dice, le vostre due Teste, e troverà la mia a buon termine che gli farà venir voglia di fare rinettare le vostre, tanto più presto;" or, as translated by Mr. Heath Wilson: <sup>2</sup> "I remind you (Daniello) of your two busts.<sup>3</sup> You will find mine nearly finished, which will make you wish to clean (chase) yours as soon as possible."

<sup>1</sup> Gotti, vol. i. p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> For reasons which will appear, it

had been better that this word "teste" had been translated more literally, heads.

But Daniele was ill, had been to the baths of San Filippo, and died early in 1566, without having chased those bronze heads (if he ever intended so to do), and of which it would seem that he had cast three. As suggested by Signor Gotti, his assistants may have been less capable, and produced inferior casts of the same model; for in a letter from Jacopo del Duca to Lionardo of the 18th April, 1566, he writes:—

“Circa le teste di mitallo, Messer Daniello gli ha gettati, ma sono in modo che hormai se hanno da fare de novo con ciselli et lime, si che non so se saranno a proposito per V. S. : fate voi. Io per me vorrei havesti il ritratto della bona memoria de missere, non d'un altro. V. S. faze lei; commetta a qualcheduno che vi ragguaglie meglio di me. So che quel che dico, dico per amor che vi porto, et forse, essendo vivo Daniello, l'arebbe fatte condurre a un modo, che questi soi genti non so quel che faranno.”

As translated by Mr. Heath Wilson—

*Letter of 18th April, 1566.*

“With regard to the metal busts, Messer Daniello has cast them, but they are in such a state that they must be worked over with chisels and files, and I do not know if your Signory will like them. Do as you please. For my part I wish you had a good memorial of him and nothing less. That which I say, I do so from regard; had Daniello been alive perhaps he would have known how to finish them, as to these people I do not know what they will do.

“DIOMEDE LEONI.”

In this translation the word “*teste*” is again rendered as “busts,” and there is the omission of one paragraph—“*V.S. faze lei; commetta a qualcheduno che vi ragguaglie meglio di me;*” and by a *lapsus calami* he has placed Diomedes instead of Jacopo del Duca's name to the letter. On the same day Michele Alberti writes:—<sup>4</sup>

“Messer Jacomo<sup>5</sup> vostro compare mi à detto che V. S. vorebbe sapere in che termine sono le teste di bronzo de la bona memoria di Messer Michelangelo. Vi dico che sono gettate, e che se renetterano in termine di un mese o poco più, che V. S. le potrà avere. Si che V. S. stia di bona voglia, che sarà servita presto e bene, Al Servizio di V. S.

“MICHELE ALBERTI.”

This letter Mr. Wilson renders thus:—

*“Rome, 17th April, 1566.*

“Messer Jacomo, your friend has informed me that your Signory

<sup>4</sup> Gotti, p. 373.

<sup>5</sup> “*Forse Jacopo del Duca.*”

wishes to know in what state are the bronze busts of Michelangelo, peace be to his memory. They are cast and may be chased in a month or little more, when your Signory may have them. If you wish, you will be served faithfully and well. Ever at your service.

"MICHELE ALBERTI."

Another bronze portrait of Michel Angelo was, as already stated, in the hands of his servant Antonio del Francese.

Of this Antonio del Francese, as an artist, we have no record whatever, nor does his name occur as an assistant in any of the Master's or other artistic works, except in the case referred to by these letters. That he could have modelled and cast a bust portrait of Michel Angelo after that great artist's design ("*designato da lui proprio*"), unknown to Vasari and other of his friends, and that the bust obtained from the Poggio Imperiale, and now in the Bargello at Florence, is such a work, has seemed to me very improbable.

Antonio was Michel Angelo's *maestro di casa*, his servant, performing the duties of confidential attendant on his master in the place of the deceased Urbino, who was, perhaps, hardly worthy of the kindness he received during his life and the grief for his loss by his liberal and large-minded patron. That he may have been able to execute some mechanical operations of the sculptor's studio, as polishing of marble, or filing and finishing the accessories of metal work, is reasonably probable, but we have no record of him as a modeller or sculptor of even such doubtful capacity as his predecessor Urbino (Pietro Urbano), of whose bungling we have a rather severe account in a letter written by Sebastiano del Piombo to Angelo from Rome<sup>6</sup> on 6th September, 1521. Antonio was called del Francese, possibly, as suggested by M. Piot, as a son of one of certain French artisans, &c., who settled at Castel Durante, of which town he was a native, and whence Michel Angelo had previously obtained other servants. How he became possessed of the small statue of the Moses does not appear, nor do we know by whose chisel it was executed. In his letter to the Duke<sup>7</sup> Antonio fails to enlighten us on this subject, but, as also in respect of the bronze bust, he does not venture to declare them as his own

<sup>6</sup> Gotti, Vita, vol. i. p. 141. Heath  
Wilson, Life, p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Gotti, vol. i. p. 373.

work, but leaves the conclusion uncertain ; hence the assumption that, as stated by Mr. Heath Wilson, "another portrait, also in bronze, was modelled by Antonio del Franzese ;"<sup>8</sup> and more prudently expressed by Signor Gotti in the words : "*Un altro ritratto, pur di bronzo, era nelle mani di Antonio del Francese, servitore di Michelangelo, il quale lo tenera come disegnato da lui medesimo,*"<sup>9</sup> which may be, perhaps, as correctly translated : "Another portrait, also of bronze, was in the hands of Antonio del Franzese, servant of Michel Angelo, by whom he believed it was designed."

His letter to the Duke of Urbino, as published by Signor Gotti, reads thus :—

"Ill<sup>mo</sup> et Eccell<sup>mo</sup> Duca, Signore e Padrone mio colendissimo.

"Ho avuto grandissima alegrezza che V. E. habbi preso sigurtà d'un suo affectionatissimo vasallo come io gli sono, in servirsi del Moisé di rilievo, non mio, ma dell'istessa V. E. Mi duole solo che quello non é di maggior consideratione e che non sia altro nella povera casa mia che gli sia piaciuta e degna di Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima ; perchè gran gloria e consolatione mi sarebbe che tutte le mie povere facultà diventassero Moisé, o cose che le gustassero ; accio io gliele potesse offerire con quel pronto animo che io dero a un mio signore e principe naturale, il quale io amo e amerò piu che me istesso et ogni tesoro del mondo. La testa della quale me fa scrivere ne l'amorevolissima sua, è il vero ritratto di Michelagnolo Bonarroti già mio padrone, et è di bronzo designato da lui proprio, la quale io tengo qui in Roma, e ne faccio presente a V. E. e già ho detto al suo ambasciatore che mandi per essa e procuri di mandargliela, supplicandola si degni d'accettarla volentieri, come volentieri io glie la dono, giudicando che a più degna persona io non la potevo dedicare. Sua Eccellenza si degnerà dunque accettarla da me suo humil servo e affectionatissimo vassallo e tenerla per memoria di quel valent'huomo, e se altro si trova nella mia povera casa che le gusti, supplico V. E. a pigliarle per sue, perche sue sono ; e se il presente è di poca valuta, quella accetti il buon animo del suo povero vassallo affectionatissimo. E con questa occasione gli faccio riverentia humilmente, la quale Iddio facci felice et essalti con tutta la sua illustrissima et eccellentissima casa.

"Di Roma, li 26 d'agosto 70.

"Di Vostra Eccellenza illustrissima Humillissimo  
Servitore e vassallo Antonio del Francese."

"All' Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Duca d' Urbino  
Signore et padrone mio colendissimo."

From these letters one may infer that the Maestro dead, and his pupil Daniele da Volterra gone also, there remained

<sup>8</sup> Heath Wilson, p. 562.

<sup>9</sup> Gotti, p. 373.



only inferior hands, among whom some of the bronze casts made under Daniele's superintendence and from his model, were dispersed, and each, craving the patronage of Lionardo Buonarroti, wished to recommend himself as the proper person to finish these heads (maybe greatly to their injury), or to produce others which would naturally be of inferior execution. This assumption is borne out by an examination of the heads and busts that have been preserved.

From observation of such of the sixteenth century bronze portrait busts of Michel Angelo as opportunity enabled me to examine, I had formed the opinion that they were all from one and the same original model, and, during my recent sojourn on the continent, that opinion was confirmed by comparing a photograph of one with some of the others. By this comparison I found that the general arrangement of the masses of hair and beard, the lines of the lips and eyebrows, and the bend of the head precisely corresponded, and that only in trifling details of execution could any difference be observed. But the more certainly to prove what my observation suggested, I subsequently obtained the precise measurements of all, save one, which I am equally convinced is also from the same model.

These measurements were carefully taken with a pair of callipers, some by practical sculptors, some by myself, and their correspondence is remarkable. In only one respect is there a difference of any value, and that is easily explained; it is in the distance between the central lock of hair on the forehead and the fork of the beard; the opening of this fork in the beard varies slightly in length, and it is precisely at such a point that the inequalities of casting, as then executed, into moulds formed from the same model, would be apparent, and would also be varied by the action of the chaser's tools upon such as had been more or less finished.

Of seven out of the eight busts cast, as I believe, from the one original model, and which have come under my observation, the following are—

The measurements taken by means of callipers between the following points.

A. From the point of junction of the upper and under eyelids on the outer side, to its corresponding point on the other eye.

B. From a point on the inner lobe of one ear, to a corresponding point on the other.

C. From the lower end of a central lock of hair upon the forehead, to the junction of the fork of the beard.

D. From the same point on the central lock of hair, to the lower centre of the upper lip.

The following table will show these several measurements, in inches, on seven of the eight *replicas* of this bust.

	A.	B.	C.	D.
1. The Capitoline head . . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. The Casa Buonarroti bust . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	5 $\frac{7}{8}$
3. The bust in the Bargello . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$
4. The bust in the Academy . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$
5. The head belonging to M. Piot . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	8	5 $\frac{7}{8}$
6. The bust belonging to M. Cottier (formerly M. Beudelet's) . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. The head at Oxford . . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{3}$
8. The head at Milan . . . . .	Not measured.			

Of the head at Milan (No. 8), I was not able to procure the measurements, but it is distinctly from the same model as the others; each and all agreeing in the pose, the arrangement of the hair, the somewhat heavy look of the eyelids, and the closed mouth. This head does not appear to have been chased or otherwise tooled after casting. These characteristics and a certain rigidity caused me to hazard the opinion that the model may have been made from a mask taken after death, and not from the living subject, but I did not then venture to express it.

Of those, the measurements of which have been given—

1. The Capitoline head is "rudely and broadly chased," to quote the observation of Mr. Warrington Wood, the eminent sculptor of Rome, who kindly, in company with Mr. Hemans, obtained the required information for me. He further made the remark that it was probably modelled from a cast taken after death; thus far corroborating my previously-formed opinion.

2. The bust at the Casa Buonarroti, evidently also from the same model, shows no signs of subsequent chiselling, but, in addition to the head, the bust is also of bronze, and would seem to have been cast at the same time, as no joint is perceptible; colouring and dust may, however, conceal it. The arrangement of the drapery on this bust differs from

that, executed in marble, on which the Capitoline head is fixed, and also from that in bronze at the Bargello.

3. The fine bust in the Bargello, all of bronze, is perhaps somewhat over-chased and tooled, the head clearly of the same model, the bust an addition thereto. This has been ascribed to Giovanni Bologna and also to Antonio del Francese. There can be little doubt that it is the bust given by the latter to the then Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere, from whom it was inherited by the Medici. From the Poggio Imperiale, where it had been known for years, it was brought, together with the small marble of the Moses, to the Bargello in Florence, where it now stands.

No. 4. The bust at the end of the long room of the *Accademia* at Florence is a less excellent *replica*, also differing in the bronze drapery from that at the Bargello; it has been coarsely chased by an inferior hand.

No. 5. The head belonging to M. Piot at Paris is a very fine cast, seemingly *à la cire*, in its genuine state, from the carefully prepared mould, and has all the qualities of the original model without the doubtful advantage of chasing by a less artistic hand. It was purchased by him from a private possessor at Bologna, several years since, in whose hands I had previously seen it, and regret, too late, having neglected to secure it for my own collection. As I have already stated, M. Piot considers it to be that given by Antonio del Francese to the Duke of Urbino, and also that it was his work. M. Piot ascribes that in the Bargello to Giovanni Bologna. In these opinions I cannot agree.

6. The bust belonging to M. Cottier of Paris, who purchased it from M. Beudelet, is a less successful cast. The head is upon a half bust of smaller size and differing in drapery from the others; it represents the upper portion of a tunic buttoned closely to the collar. It may have been slightly refreshed by the file, etc., but not by an artistic hand.

7. The head at Oxford is mounted on a draped bust made of plaster. There can be little doubt of the correctness of Mr. Robinson's statement,<sup>1</sup> that "the present is a fine wax casting, and doubtless the work of a great sculptor. It represents Michel Angelo in his extreme old age, and it

<sup>1</sup> "The Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello, &c.," 8vo. Oxford, 1876. P. 101, No. 90.

seems to have been modelled from nature." This head was presented to the University of Oxford by the late Mr. W. Woodburn.

In a conversation with Professor Emilio Santarelli, a sculptor well known to fame, and whose knowledge, arising from long and loving study of the works of the great *renaissance* artists, is perhaps unrivalled in Florence, without any suggestion on my part, also expressed the opinion that the original model of these busts had been worked from a mask taken after death, again corroborating Mr. Wood's and my own opinion.

From the foregoing data we find that of the eight known *replicas*—

3 (Piot, Oxford, Milan) are heads only, and not chased.

1 head (the Capitoline) "rudely and broadly chased."

1 bust (the Buonarroti) not chased.

3 busts (Bargello, Academy, Cottier) more or less chased.

Gaetano Milanese, in his paper before referred to, states that according to the domestic archives of the Buonarroti family Ricciarelli cast three heads, two for Lionardo Buonarroti and one for himself.

Referring to the letter of 17 April, 1566, from Michele Alberti, we may infer that Alberti had other of the busts, we know not how many, under his charge, seemingly for the casting as well as for completion; for he cannot refer to that one already chased by Diomede Leoni, nor can it be inferred, from the wording of his letter, that he alludes to the two left by Daniele (perhaps purposely) as they came from the mould.

Again, we know that one (that now at the Bargello) was in the hands of Michel Angelo's servant, Antonio del Francese, who, very possibly, may have been a metal chaser, although we have no evidence of his artistic capacity. Six or seven at least are therefore accounted for, and the indefinite statement as to number in Alberti's letter, leaves a margin for some more. It is, moreover, not unreasonable to suppose that two or three may have been cast from Daniele's model immediately after his death, and that these, although in every other respect similiar, would want the sharpness and perfection of the earlier casts made under the modeller's own eye.

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing facts would therefore seem to me—

1. That all these eight bronze and authentic portrait busts of Michel Angelo are replicas from one and the same model.

2. That that model was the one alluded to by Vasari as the work "*di tutto rilievo*" of Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra, and that in all probability it was executed by him from a mask taken immediately after death, rather than from the living model.

3. That none of these bronze busts (and no others of that period are known) were modelled by Diomede Leoni, Antonio del Francese, nor Michele Alberti.

4. That some were left in the state in which they came from the mould. (Piot, Oxford, Milan.)

5. That others were more or less chased by more or less competent hands.

6. That two at least, having the drapery, &c., also cast in bronze (as the Academy and the Cottier, and perhaps the Casa Buonarroti) were probably cast after Daniele's death, but from his model of the head.

Of the heads originally cast by Daniele da Volterra, and perhaps intentionally left unchased by him, I should consider from its excellence that that belonging to M. Piot is one, and that at Oxford may be the other. That at Milan does not seem to have been worked over, but the Capitoline head would appear to have been chased.

The Bargello bust has been elaborately tooled, even to harshness, and, if capable of such mechanical work, may have been chased by the hand of Antonio del Francese, to whom it belonged. We have, however, no account of the subsequent history of that head of which Diomede Leoni states in his letter that "you will find mine nearly finished." As one of a family of medallists and metal workers, it would seem more reasonable to suppose that the highly-finished bust at the Bargello (which by the way has had casts taken from it recently, and has been cleaned, much to its disadvantage), is that which was finished by Leoni, and may have been subsequently left in Antonio's hands. It is also possible that Leoni would not venture to chase so highly, and that the Capitoline head, which has perhaps an earlier look about it, may have been that to which he alludes.

A letter also is printed by Signor Gotti (vol. i. p. 373), from Jacopo del Duca to Leonardo, in which he speaks of the heads cast by Daniele as being very rough, and wanting the action of chisel and file; that had Daniele lived he might have finished them, but of "*soi genti*," he knew not what they could do. He expresses a wish that Leonardo should have a worthy memorial of the master, and hints (in a passage omitted from the translation of the letter by Mr. Heath Wilson<sup>2</sup>) that he would serve him if there be no other whom he regards with higher favour. Possibly, therefore, one of the heads or busts may have been cast from the original model, or finished up by or under the direction of Jacopo del Duca. These, however, are conjectures of but little weight; the facts I have been able to adduce are more important.

I would correct one other suggestion in my former paper. None of these bronze busts could have been cast from Giovanni Battista Lorenzi's marble on the monument in Sta. Croce. It was modelled from a mask taken after death, as Vasari tells us, but differs materially from those of bronze, the head being turned in the opposite direction, viz., to its own left.

I would also take this opportunity of correcting some and adding other matter to that in my former paper, in respect to other portraits of the great Maestro.

Of the monument near the sacristy of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, much has been written; but the documents since published by Signor Gotti<sup>3</sup> would seem to prove that it was erected in honour of the great sculptor's memory, and not, as I was led to conclude, to that of Filippo or Ferdinando, Eustachio da Macerata. These documents consist of letters from Jacopo del Duca, Diomede Leoni, and Daniele da Volterra, written in Rome, and from Leonardo Buonarroti in Florence; they, however, refer only to the epitaph, and give us no distinct information as to the artist who executed that bas-relief.

In reference to the medal by Leo Leoni, there is an interesting letter from that artist addressed to Michel Angelo from Milan on the 14th March, 1561, in which he states that he has sent by the hands of Carlo Visconte four of

<sup>2</sup> "*V. S. faze lei; cometta a qualcheduno che vi ragguaglie meglio di me.*"

<sup>3</sup> Vita, vol. i. p. 369, *et seq.* Heath Wilson. *Op. cit.*

these medals, two of silver and two of bronze. He begs him to keep that one which is in a case, and is more highly finished, and to do with the others what he pleases. His letter reads thus :—

“ Molto magnifico signor mio, sempre osservandissimo.

“ Mando a V. S. per lo signor Carlo Visconte, grande huomo in questa città di Milano, et amato da Sua Santità, quatro medaglie de la vostra effigie : le due sarano d'argento et l'altre due di bronzo. Sarei stato più breve a mandarle a V. S. se non fussi cosi occupato ne l'opera che per cagione di V. S. ebbi da Sua Santità (*la sepoltura della quale è parlato sopra*), et se anchora non avessi fede che V. S. mi perdonasse l'errore de la tardanza, ma non già il peccato de l'ingratitude.

“ Quella che è nel bossolo è tutta rinettata et la guarderà e conserverà per amor mio. L'altre tre ne farà ciò che gli parerà ; perciocchè, sendo ch'io per ambitione ne ho mandate in Spagna et in Fiandra, così per amore ne terò mandate a Roma et in altre parte. Dissi ambitione, per ciò che mi par haver troppo aquistato ad haver guadagnato la gratia di V. S. ch'io estimo molto : et chi non si terebbe da molto, poichè in meno di tre mesi ho due lettere scritemi da voi huomo divino, non come a servitor di cuore e di volontà, ma da figliuolo ? Horsù io non darò più fastidio per hora a V. S., ecetto che la prego che mi voglia perseverare d'amarmi, et dove occorre, favorirmi, e al signor Tomao del Cavallieri dir ch'io non sarò smemorato. Il Signore vi dia ogni contento acciò io habbia contento.

“ Da Milano, il xiiij de marzo del 61.

“ Di V. S. servitor obligato  
“ Il cavalier LEONE.”

I have before referred to an example of this medal in silver, now in the South Kensington Museum. Another is in the cabinet of the Uffizi at Florence. Whether more were made in that material we do not know.

I would here also wish to record the opinion of the Cavaliere Gaetano Milanese, on the inscription placed at the back of the wax medallion portrait of Michael Angelo by Leo Leoni, described and figured in my former paper. Signor Milanese considers that the lettering, executed in printing character, is not of so early a date as the sixteenth century ; but, on the other hand, that the composition and wording may well be of that period. He thinks, therefore, that this inscription may probably have been copied *verbatim* from Leoni's original memorandum, in more convenient form for insertion in the frame.

I would also take this opportunity of adding a few notes to my former paper in reference to painted and other por-

traits of M. Angelo. Of those executed by the brush, that (Arch. Journal, vol. xxxii. p. 12, n. iii.) ascribed to Marcello Venusti, and now hanging in the Casa Buonarroti, is hard and dry in treatment, but has the appearance of originality. Not improbably this may have been taken from the life, and copied in Venusti's reduction of the Last Judgment (No. II.) now at Naples. There can be little doubt that the portrait in the Capitoline Gallery at Rome (No. 5 of my list) is a replica or a copy of the Casa Buonarroti portrait, and perhaps also by the hand of Venusti. The head almost exactly agrees, but with the addition in the Roman picture of a draped bust.

Of the much injured and unpleasing portrait in the Gallery of the Uffizi (No. 4) there is a replica in superior condition now in the possession of the Avvocato Casaglia at Florence. One of these may be the original by Bugiardini referred to by Vasari, and the peculiar prominent effect given to one eye would seem to warrant Angelo's criticism (p. 13), as stated by that biographer.

The portrait by Jacopo del Conte is believed by Signor Milanese to be in the possession of the Strozzi at Florence, for whom he thinks it was painted, and he refers to the engraving in the "Serie degli Uomini illustri"—the work in folio, Firenze, 1776, vol. 4—in which it is stated that it was executed from the original, belonging to the Prince Ferdinando Strozzi.

Of the portrait by Francesco Salviati, engraved in the quarto work, "Serie, &c." (No. 6 of my list), in which it is stated that the original belonged to the Bracci family, Signor Milanese believes it to be that now belonging to M. Chaix d'Estang.

He also refers to a fine portrait in which Angelo is represented wearing a hat, and as of about 55 years of age. This belongs to the Marchese Lotteringo della Stufa, of Florence, but can hardly be that painted by Bugiardini, as has been suggested.

Another portrait that belonged to Signor Fedi has also been attributed to Bugiardini by Signor Zobi in his *brochure*,<sup>4</sup> and confounded with the Casa Bracci portrait.

A painted portrait, attributed by its possessor and some

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of these portraits refer to a short article by Gaetano Milanese, before referred to.



others to Michel Angelo's own hand, belongs to Signor V. de Tivoli, of Oxford. It represents him as somewhat passed middle age.

I should also mention here that in a picture in the third chapel to the left, the Montaguti, on entering the church of the Annunziata at Florence, and representing a scene of the Last Judgment, from a portion of M. Angelo's great work, Alessandro Allori has introduced a portrait of that master.

To the engraved portraits of Michel Angelo referred to I would also add one representing him in a fur cap, and varied from that numbered V in my list at page 14 of my former paper. The plain oval surrounding border bears the same inscription, but in larger lettering, and is without the letters I. B. and the ornamental cartouche; his age, moreover, is stated as lxxiii.

A copy of this rare variety is in M. Piot's possession. M. Piot also possesses the original letter from Diomede Leoni to Leonardo Buonarroti, in which he states that Daniele da Volterra had gone to the baths of San Filippo, near Siena, and that the two busts were nearly finished.

Among the original drawings preserved in the Florentine gallery is one in pen and ink attributed to Giorgio Vasari, a portrait of his friend Michel Angelo. This has been engraved as a frontispiece to Mr. Heath Wilson's highly interesting "Life and Works" of the great Maestro, with the addition of an architectural framing.

At Weimar, in the Grand Ducal Collection, is a fine pen drawing, a portrait of Michel Angelo, the work of B. Passarotti.

### Original Documents.

#### CHARTER OF HUGH OF BAYEUX TO THE CHURCH AND CANONS OF ST. MARY OF TORRINGTON, *temp.* HENRY II.

Communicated by the Rev. E. VENABLES, Precentor of Lincoln.

THE following document is especially interesting from its connection with the founder of the Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine's, Lincoln, as well as with Gilbert of Sempringham himself, the founder of that order, and from the circumstance of its proving the existence of a religious foundation in Lincolnshire which was unknown either to Dugdale or Tanner. It came into my possession through the kindness of a gentleman, who bought it, with a large number of other documents, at an auction, somewhere in Herefordshire. Seeing its intimate connection with Lincoln, he was good enough to forward it to me, and it will for the future have a place among the muniments of the Chapter.

It is a grant of an oxgang of land together with a dwelling and the right of pasturage in the parish of Caburn, made by Hugh of Bayeux to the Church and Canons of St. Mary of Torrington. Caburn is a small village of Lincolnshire, situated in one of the Wold valleys, about a mile and a half north-east of Caistor. Torrington is another Lincolnshire village, or rather a union of two villages, East and West Torrington, three miles north-east of the small town of Wragby. Although this document is the first proof of the existence of a religious foundation at Torrington, local tradition points to a moated area near the Grange as the site of a religious house, and I have been informed by the incumbent, Rev. T. W. Mossman, that he believes it to have been a Gilbertine foundation. This is strengthened by the appearance of the name of Gilbert of Sempringham, the founder of the order, as one of the witnesses.

The grantor, Hugh of Bayeux, was the eldest son of Ranulph of Bayeux, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Alan of Lincoln, who was, according to Dugdale, "an eminent baron in those parts." The Bayeux family had large possessions in the northern part of Lincolnshire. Among the lordships was that of Goxhill, in which five knights' fees were held of Ranulph of Bayeux by Peter of Goxhill, the founder of the first house of the Premonstratensian order in England, situated at Newhouse in the parish of Goxhill. Ranulph, the father, gave an oxgang of land to this house, in the same parish of Caburn in which the land lay named in the present document, bestowed by the son on Torrington. Hugh of Bayeux was also a benefactor to Sempringham, bestowing on the nuns there lands within that parish and in Billingborough.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's "Baronage," i. 573.

The grant is witnessed by persons of no ordinary rank and importance. The first is the fourth Bishop of Lincoln, Robert de Querceto, or de Chesney, the founder of St. Catherine's Gilbertine Priory, at Lincoln. He was consecrated Dec. 19, 1148, and died Jan. 26, 1167. He is followed by no less a personage than Master Gilbert of Sempringham, the founder of the Gilbertine order, to which, as we have said, the Canons of Torrington may have belonged. Gilbert, not yet *Saint* Gilbert, died in 1189. His canonization took place in 1202. Of Master Malger, who succeeds, I can say nothing. He was probably a priest, perhaps a canon of the cathedral, and doubtless worthy of the good company in which we find him.

The three names that follow are those of some of the first laymen in Lincolnshire. Walter Deincourt, who stands at their head, was the grandson of Walter Deincourt, one of the Norman knights who accompanied William the Conqueror on the invasion of England, whose distinguished services were rewarded by his grateful sovereign with 36 lordships. Of these seventeen were in Lincolnshire, of which Blankney, near Lincoln (now the seat of the Chaplins) was the chief, being "the head of his barony." The Deincourts were kinsfolks both of the Conqueror and of Remigius of Fecamp, the first bishop of Lincoln, who translated the see thither from Dorchester. This we learn from the remarkable leaden monumental tablet of Walter's son William, who dying while still a youth receiving his education at the court of William Rufus, was buried near the north door of the Cathedral which his kinsman Remigius had erected, and was commemorated by an inscription discovered in 1670, and still preserved in the Cathedral Library. The plate is engraved in "Dugdale's Baronage,"<sup>2</sup> as well as more correctly in our own Lincoln volume.<sup>3</sup> As it is there stated that William, the son, not Walter, the father, was *regia stirpe progenitus*, it is probable that the royal kinship was through Walter's wife, who it is suggested in the memoir in the Lincoln volume, may have been a daughter, perhaps illegitimate, of the Conqueror himself. It is possible, however, that the lady in question may have been a member of the Anglo-Saxon royal family. If so the relationship to the Conqueror vanishes. The Walter who witnesses the grant before us, was the son of Ralph the eldest son of Walter, the Conqueror's favourite, by Basilia his wife, and consequently nephew to William, of whose epitaph I have been speaking.

Richard de Haia, who succeeds, was the son of Robert de Haia, or de la Haye, who obtained from Henry I. the honour of Hainaker, near Goodwood in Sussex, and was a great benefactor to the Abbey of Essaix in Normandy. Richard, together with his brother Robert, founded the Premonstratensian Abbey of Barlings, 6 miles to the north-east of Lincoln, and was the cause of a cell of the same order being erected at Cameringham by the gift of his lordship in that parish to the monastery of Blanchelande in Normandy. Richard de la Haye was the father of Nichola, who married Gerard de Camville, a lady who played a distinguished part in the events which signalised the reigns of Richard I. and John. A woman, with the courage and resolution of a man, she was a stout adherent of Lackland through all his varied fortunes, and was rewarded by being appointed to the shrievalty of her county, and,

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings of Archaeological Institute, Lincoln, 1848, p. 248.

after the death of her husband, with the governorship of the castle of Lincoln, which had been bestowed by King John on de Camville, Fulk de Breante—we could have wished the good lady a better deputy than this ruffianly brigand—being appointed her assistant. The picturesque tale of her surrender of the keys of the castle to King John during one of his visits to Lincoln, pleading her inability to sustain the fatigue and anxiety of so important a charge by reason of her advanced age, and the king's gracious restoration of them to her, and of her retaining the governorship "all the life of King John, and after his decease under King Henry, the father of the King that now is," is found in the "Inquisitiones," A<sup>o</sup> 3 Ed. I., 1274–5, and is printed in the Lincoln volume. The energetic old lady died at her manor of Swayton, near Folkingham, in 1231.<sup>4</sup>

The only remaining name, that of William Curceis, cannot be certainly identified. He may possibly have been William, the son of Richard de Curcy, the celebrated leader in the Battle of the Standard, by whom (William) the Alien Priory of Stoke Courcy, in Somersetshire, was founded; or a William de Curcy, who appears as one of the witnesses to the treaty between Henry II. and William King of Scots, in 1174, and died the same year Justice of Ireland. But we are shooting in the dark; especially as it is not certain that the name should not be read Curteis.

The deed may probably be placed between 1150 and 1160. It is in excellent preservation, the ink only being a little faded. The seal, a very coarse inartistic lump, bears the impression of the Holy Lamb carrying a banner.

The deed may be read as follows, expanding the contractions:—

"Hugo de Baiocis Episcopo et Capitulo Lincolnensi et universis sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis Salutem. Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus me dedisse et concessisse unam boveta[m] terræ in Kaburnia cum una masura et cum communi pastura ejusdem villæ Deo et Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Torentona et Canonicis inibi degentibus in perpetuum et liberam eleemosinam. His testibus Roberto Episcopo Lincolnensi, Magistro Gilberto de Seppingham, Magistro Malgero, Waltero de Eyncurt, Ricardo de Haia, Willielmo Curceis."

Seal of pale brown wax, of a very friable kind. The edges much clipped, so that no portion of the legend remains. When perfect it was about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. In the centre is the Holy Lamb and Flag. The whole very indistinct.

Recent excavations on the site of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln, with which the foregoing document has some connection, have brought to light some architectural and sepulchral fragments which, though as yet few in number, are yet sufficiently remarkable in character to justify some account of the discovery in this place.

But it may be as well first to say something of the building of which the remains formed part. The Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine's, Lincoln, was founded by Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln, the first-named witness to the above charter, who succeeded to the episcopate in 1148. It was in December of that year that Bishop de Chesney was con-

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale's "Baronage," vol. i. 597. "Rotuli Hundredorum," vol. i. p. 309.

secrated, so that if the date for the foundation of the priory given by Dugdale is correct, the same month must have witnessed the new prelate's entrance on his see, and the laying of the first stone of the new priory. It is evident that Robert de Chesney had a taste for magnificent undertakings, and that he was not always careful to count the cost before he embarked in them. "He was a young prelate," writes one, "and much embarrassed the see by his undertakings." Giraldus Cambrensis complains bitterly of the injury done to the bishoprick by him and his namesake Robert Bloet, "*Crevit diocesis Lincolnensis per Remigium sed decrevit enormiter per Robertum et Robertum.*" Not content with the modest lodging in the tower over the East-gate, granted to his predecessor, Bishop Alexander, by Henry I., he obtained a site for a new episcopal residence from Henry II., A.D. 1155. Here he commenced building the palace, completed by his successors, the two Hughs, and 200 years later by Bishop William Alnwick, a portion of which is now rising from its ruins for the accommodation of the students of the Chancellor's Theological School, at the sole charge of his noble-hearted and munificent successor, Bishop Wordsworth.

This site, though granted by the king, was not given by him. Its purchase cost Bishop Chesney a good round sum. He also expended a large amount in the purchase of a London house for himself and his successors, near the Old Temple, in Holborn. The result of all these extravagancies, among which the erection of St. Catherine's was not the least costly, was that, according to Giraldus, he was compelled to pawn the "ornamenta" of his church to one of the wealthy Jews, Aaron by name, who had made Lincoln their abode.

The rule adopted at the new foundation of St. Catherine's was that recently promulgated by Master Gilbert of Sempringham, which had just received papal ratification. The reasons for this selection were obvious. The rule was in the fresh flush of novelty. Its founder was himself a Lincolnshire man, born at Sempringham, a village near Bourn, in the south of the county, son of Sir Jocelin of Sempringham, who some say was a knight, some rector of the church there. Possibly both accounts are true, the layman having perhaps taken holy orders after the death of his wife. The lately deceased prelate, Bishop Alexander, had proved himself a warm patron of the new order, the establishment of which he had eagerly promoted as reflecting a peculiar glory on his own diocese, one of his last acts being the foundation of a Gilbertine house at Haverholme, near Sleaford, on its desertion by its first Cistercian occupants. Besides, the holy founder was still living, indeed his death did not take place for forty years, A.D. 1189, ready to support and guide the new foundation from his own retreat at Sempringham.

The new order, the only purely English monastic order, was for a time very popular. The Priory of St. Catherine's was one of thirteen houses St. Gilbert saw founded before his death. In the county of Lincoln alone there were eleven Gilbertine houses, situated respectively at Lincoln, Sempringham, Haverholme, Alvingham, Bullington, Cattely, Holland Bridge, Newstead on Ancholme, North Ormsby, Sixhills, and Tunstall. The peculiarity of the Gilbertine houses, as is familiar to most of us, was the union of religious of both sexes in the same monastery. The female inmates followed the Cistercian form of the Benedictine rule, the males the rule of St. Austin, the founder adding no inconsider-

able number of regulations of his own, rendered essential by the special circumstances of his foundations. The "Institutiones" of the founder occupy thirty-nine folio pages of double columns in the last edition of Dugdale's "Monasticon," and well deserve careful perusal. They are full of curious and interesting matter. A Gilbertine house, where the founder's scheme was fully carried out, embraced four different establishments: one of canons, another of nuns, a third of lay brethren, and a fourth of lay sisters. The rules prescribe a complete separation of the sexes thus somewhat rashly brought together in the same establishment. A turn-table window, *fenestra versatilis*, was provided through which the male and female superiors could hold conferences at stated times on domestic matters. The churches were divided down the centre by a close screen, each division commanding a view of the altar. Windows were constructed in the churches for Confession, and for the reception of Holy Communion. Not even the spiritual directors of the nuns saw or were seen by them except at the hour of death, when extreme unction had to be administered. The regulations for the construction of these windows and their employment are very minute, and the penalty for the violation of them very severe. Whenever any conference between religious of different sexes was necessary, neither was directly to address the other, but the third person was always to be used. Some few of the Gilbertine houses contained canons alone, but the majority were for persons of both sexes. The number of females exceeded that of the males. The thirteen houses founded by St. Gilbert himself contained seven hundred brethren and fifteen hundred sisters.

The absence of large monastic foundations in Cathedral cities, where the Church was served by Secular Canons, is a fact not undeserving of notice. The old hostility between the Seculars and Regulars is thus strikingly illustrated. Where the one had occupied the ground there was no room for the other. Lincoln was no exception to the rule. The comparatively insignificant Priory of St. Catherine's was the only monastic house of any importance in Lincoln. Indeed, it was the only one with the exception of a small Benedictine cell of St. Mary's York with its three or four brethren, and the foundations of the Mendicant orders. The situation of St. Catherine's Priory, just outside the southern city gates, at the junction of the two most important roads, the Ermine Street, and Foss Way, as well as the fact of its being the only establishment of the kind, threw upon it many of the duties of hospitality usually performed by our larger religious houses. It was here that in November, 1290, the body of Eleanor, the beloved queen of Edward I., who had died at Harby in the immediate vicinity, rested as its first stage on its way to Westminster. The embalmment was doubtless performed here by some of the body skilled in the medical art, inasmuch as the viscera were interred in the Cathedral beneath the east window, where an altar tomb supporting a brass effigy, similar to that in Westminster Abbey and by the same sculptor, Torel, was erected. This memorial was destroyed by the Parliamentary soldiers, together with the brasses and other metal work of the Minster, after the storming and sack of the Close in 1643. The first of the Eleanor Crosses was erected on Swines-Green, opposite the gates of the Priory. This cross was designed by Master Richard of Stowe (or "of Gainsborough," *cementarius*, who was

at that time employed by the Dean and Chapter on the works of the Presbytery or Angel Choir of the Cathedral, who received £20 as a first payment for his pains. His own sepulchral memorial, a richly incised slab, still exists in a sadly fractured condition in the south walk of the Cloisters. The Cross was destroyed by the Puritan iconoclasts at the same time as the tomb. St. Catherine's, as we have seen, was founded by a Bishop of Lincoln, and the office of Prior was placed in the gift of his successors. The connection was maintained by the ordinance in the Cathedral Statutes that each newly consecrated Bishop on coming to Lincoln for installation should pass the night at St. Catherine's, and walk thence barefoot the following morning, preceded by a procession of the regular and secular clergy of the city, the whole length of the High Street, to the great west door, where he was received by the Dean and the whole Cathedral staff in silken copes, and conducted to the altar. As the distance from St. Catherine's to the Cathedral is fully two miles, and the streets of Lincoln were never famous for cleanliness, it is not surprising that the statutes should enjoin that the Bishop should wash his feet in the vestibule before he robed himself in his pontificals and was solemnly enthroned.

The traditional duty of hospitality lingered on at St. Catherine's long after the Dissolution. After the surrender to Henry VIII., when William Griffiths was Prior, at the head of a body of fifteen monks, the site and buildings were granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, from whom they passed to the ancient family of Grantham, by whom a noble mansion, known as St. Catherine's Hall, was erected out of the Priory ruins. In this house James I. was entertained by the Granthams on his northern progress, the circumstances of which are given by Nichols. A few years later one of those by whom his ill-fated son was brought to the block, one of the finest models of Puritan virtue, Colonel Hutchinson, so well known from the Memoir by his widow, spent his schoolboy days with his kinsfolk in this same mansion. As long also as St. Catherine's Hall maintained its ancient dignity, it was the custom for her Majesty's Judges of Assize to halt there for refreshment before they entered the city, as a preparation for the steep ascent which conducted them to their Lodgings.

From the Granthams the Priory estate passed to the Manbys, by whom the mansion was pulled down about the middle of the last century, portions of the buildings of the Priory, used as barns and stables, survived a little longer, but even these disappeared before the close of the century, having been pulled down for the sake of the materials. The very foundations of the church were dug up for the value of the stone, and the sepulchral slabs and stone coffins discovered ruthlessly broken to pieces. The site continued to bear the name of St. Catherine's Priory, but so complete was its destruction that, until the last few weeks, there was not a single stone visible to indicate the existence of any ecclesiastical buildings. The very position of the fabric was entirely lost. Within the last month, however, the removal of some earth, preparatory to the formation of a new road and the erection of some houses in this rapidly increasing suburb, has brought to light some architectural and monumental fragments. The building operations at present have only just commenced, and the amount of ground disturbed is but small. It is not too much to hope that as the work extends, and the excavations

become deeper, the results will be still more valuable than those already attained.

The fragments dug up consist of Norman and Early English capitals, a large quantity of Early English vaulting rib stones with fine roll mouldings, bases, and other architectural members, the excellence of the workmanship of which seems to point to their having formed part of the church. This probability is strengthened by the number of sepulchral slabs, and other indications of interment discovered. A stone coffin was disinterred containing a perfect skeleton, which was immediately destroyed in a spirit of wanton mischief by the workman. Another perfect stone coffin was laid bare in the same place, but was covered up again. The sepulchral slabs discovered are fine specimens of their class. One bears a very fine incised floriated cross of large size. The inscription round the verge is provokingly clear where one could pardon indistinctness, and illegible where distinctness is important. It runs:—"Hic jacet Johannes de Wyl . . . . quondam . . . . mensis die tercio . . . . cujus aīē p̄picietur Deus, Amen." A second slab bears on a horizontal scroll along its centre, "Hic jacet Johannes Bieluft." A third shows traces of an incised figure with a depression for the head and bust, which had been executed in alabaster or mastic.

Among the architectural fragments may be particularized two Norman capitals cut out of the same block, evidently belonging to a doorway, of which some pieces of zigzag moulding lying near may have formed part. These and other specimens of Norman work must have belonged to the original church of Bishop de Chesney. The other fragments are chiefly Early English. The rib moulds already spoken of are of great excellence, and there is one magnificent boss of large size, the trefoil foliage of which is beautifully undercut. A considerable number of Early English bell-capitals have also been turned up, thus indicating additions to the buildings in the thirteenth century. Only one piece of wall has yet been found *in situ*. It runs east and west, and shows the footings of buttresses and a plain chamfered base moulding on the northern side. It may have been the wall of an aisle. This fragment is about 15 ft. long and 4 ft. thick.



## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 4, 1876.

Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., V.-P., in the Chair.

Mr. W. MATCHWICK contributed the following "Brief Notes on some Early British Remains on the North-East Coast of the Island of Anglesey, observed in August, 1875."

"In drawing attention to the following observations on certain structural remains, which I presume to be early British, existing on the north-east coast of Anglesey, the exact situation of which I will point out with as much accuracy as I am able, I must, in the first place say, that I do so with some diffidence and hesitation, as being but slightly acquainted with the subject, and having but little special knowledge concerning it. I am actuated more by a desire to place the matter on record as the result of simple observation on the spot than from any other motive.

"It is scarcely necessary to observe in a preliminary way, that everything concerning the history of the early races of mankind originally inhabiting any part of Great Britain, especially when fortified by the positive evidence of existing structural remains, is becoming of greater interest day by day, and the desire of getting the most exact knowledge possible on all the details pertaining to the subject, is now much more general than it formerly was.

"It was during a short summer's holiday, spent in Anglesey in August last, that I had the opportunity of observing the very interesting remains hereinafter described. We were located in a Welsh farm-house, itself an interesting relic of the Jacobean period, having probably been built and occupied by an ardent royalist and Welsh soldier, the huge beams supporting the principal floors being elaborately carved with trophies of arms, armorial shields, &c., and the sculptured chimney-pieces still remaining intact. This house is marked on the Ordnance Map, and for very many years has been called 'The Glyn,' or Glen. The present tenant is Robert Hughes, and he and former members of his family have occupied it for nearly a century. Sir Richard Williams-Berkeley of Baron Hill, Beaumaris, is, I believe, the owner of the place, as well as of most of the land in the immediate vicinity.

"Within the limits of this farm, comprising some 300 acres, and in close proximity thereto, are the ancient structural remains that attracted my attention. The Glyn Farm is between ten and eleven miles from

Bangor, nine from Menai Bridge, and seven miles from Beaumaris. From Pentraeth<sup>1</sup> it is distant about three miles in a north-easterly direction, and is approached by a cross road to the left of the highway, between Pentraeth and Tyn-y-Gongl,<sup>2</sup> from which last place it is distant about a mile and a half. The road from Pentraeth approaches the sea-shore at a place called Red Wharf Bay—more an inlet of the sea than a bay,—then runs for a mile or so more inland, and again skirts the coast near the cross road alluded to, pursuing its course to Tyn-y-Gongl, Llanallgo,<sup>3</sup> Moelfre,<sup>4</sup> Amlwch,<sup>5</sup> &c. In a field, or enclosure at the back of the Glyn, in a north-easterly direction, and about half-a-mile from it, situated on rising ground, and overlooking a great part of the surrounding country, I came upon two assemblages of large stones or boulders, arranged in a circular manner, and within about a hundred yards of each other. Although thus separate, each circle is opposite the other. The stones in both form a double circular row, and each has an apparent opening or entrance; such opening or entrance being due east in one circle and due west in the other, the two openings being thus exactly opposite. The spot where these remains exist is in the parish of Llanbedrgoch,<sup>6</sup> on high bare ground, in full view of the sea and of the Snowdon range of mountains, some thirty miles distant. I regret very much that I did not take accurate measurement of these two circles. All that I did do was to pace them round, and I judged in that way that each circle (for both are of very similar dimensions) was about 56 ft. round and 18 ft. across. In neither could I discover any central remains, nor was there any semblance of an artificial mound or platform. The space between the inner and outer circle of stones is in each about 3 ft. and of each entrance about 6 ft. The stones or boulders of which these circles are composed are masses of a very hard kind of siliceous grit or conglomerate rock,<sup>7</sup> and are of varied size, some being 4 ft. or 5 ft. above the ground, others not more than 2 ft. I should say the immediate locality of these circles has never been ploughed up, the rocky substratum being very near the surface, in many places cropping right up, and the short velvety turf having all the appearance of very ancient growth. Neither of these circles is marked on the published map of the Ordnance Survey.

“After inspecting the above, I proceeded quite by chance in the direction of the coast towards Benllech<sup>8</sup> Sands, over against Tyn-y-Gongl, but rather N.N.W. of that place, and was intensely gratified by finding a circle of much larger dimensions than those I have already described, situated on much higher ground—at least 250 ft. above the sea level—and occupying a more commanding position. This circle is also a double one, with an opening or entrance-way due east. It measures somewhere about 130 ft. in circumference, and 40 ft. in diameter. The space between the outer and inner rows is 3 ft. or thereabouts. In this example there are the evident remains of an artificial mound or platform, and I noticed in the centre of it some rough and scattered fragments, which possibly may indicate something structural. The stones or boulders of this circle are of the same siliceous grit as before mentioned, many of

<sup>1</sup> Pentraeth.<sup>2</sup> Tin-y-gongle.<sup>3</sup> Thlanathgo.<sup>4</sup> Mulvrah.<sup>5</sup> Amlook.<sup>6</sup> Thlanbedlagoch.<sup>7</sup> Mainly limestone in that district.<sup>8</sup> Benthleck.

them of great size, 6 ft. above the ground, but others comparatively small, indicating, perhaps, mutilation for road making or for fences, there existing in this part of Anglesey no hedge-rows, the plentiful fences being everywhere made of loose stones, the natural product of the district. I observed carefully that the rocky stratification of the neighbouring coast and of the immediate locality of these circles is more or less a horizontal one, and that all the boulders comprising the circles showed the strata vertically.

"In the immediate neighbourhood of this and the other two circles may be seen huge masses of detached rock, some of them being 15 or 20 ft. in length, and weighing many tons, lying isolated and scattered, forming in some cases distinctive landmarks, and all presenting the appearance of having remained undisturbed for ages. I omitted to mention that the large circle just described is to be found about three-quarters of a mile from the other two in the direction given, and being on higher ground, is much more imposing; the sea and land views from it, with the Snowdon range in the south, are most enchanting. No indication of these remains is to be found on the Ordnance map.

"I may here remark that in the introduction to the last revised edition of Murray's 'Hand-book to Devon and Cornwall,' at p. 21, the author says:—'It would seem that there are no circles in Wales or Anglesea.'

"I will now notice what I believe to be an ancient cromlech, which I observed at a spot about a mile from the last-named circle, but in an opposite direction. Immediately at the back of the Glyn in an easterly line, there is a large enclosure or field of some fifty acres in extent. On a rising ground about the centre of this enclosure is a hollow or depressed spot surrounded by low, stunted trees, and about which are numerous detached masses of rock. In an angle of this place is the cromlech. It is in a somewhat ruined condition from excavations and apparent efforts to destroy it; but the tabular cover or cap-stone is yet *in situ*, and several of the supports are still upright. The tabular covering stone is of large size and great weight, measuring some 10 ft. long by 6 ft. broad, and in thickness at least 20 in. At present it inclines at a sharp angle in a westerly direction. It is evidently a chambered structure, and I was informed that about twenty years ago excavations were made, and various bones and other relics discovered beneath it. The soil round about is alluvial, and being very plentiful, the cromlech has become partly covered with it, and also somewhat hidden by bushes, and so is not discoverable until closely approached. Out of the very centre of the hollow at the southern side of the cap-stone, I observed growing a thick, but very stunted hawthorn bush, whose main stem indicated an age of at least 200 years. This cromlech is not marked on the Ordnance map, and, like the three circles I have described, does not seem to be noticed by any of the authorities I have looked at. At a distance of about two miles from the cromlech named, in a north-west direction, nearer the coast on high ground overlooking the sea, and within sight of the ancient town of Moelfre,<sup>9</sup> there is a large and important cromlech, which is plainly seen from many points of view. This cromlech is marked on the Ordnance map, and is probably pretty well known. I walked up to it, and found that it was

<sup>9</sup> Mulvrah.

in a fair state of preservation. The cap-stone is enormous, and the uprights or supporting stones of great size. It is completely isolated, standing in the midst of a very bare and very open district commanding fine land and sea views, and not having a single mass of stone, tree, bush, or other object in its immediate surroundings; consequently, it is a very conspicuous object. I was informed by Mr. Robert Hughes that within his memory excavations had been made at this cromlech, and that an entire human skeleton, with other relics, had been exhumed from its depths.

"Before closing my very imperfect remarks on this subject, it is right to mention that, previous to putting them on paper, I consulted various well-known authorities on the matters connected with it, such as Rowlands' '*Mona Antiqua Restaurata*' (4to, Lond. 1766),—by the way, Rowland, at p. 89, calls such circles of stones as he was acquainted with, 'cirques or theatres, raised up of earth and stones to a great height, resembling a horse-shoe, opening directly to the west upon an even fair spot of ground,'—the '*Archæologia*,' the '*Archæological Journal*,' the '*Journal of the Archæological Association*,' '*Archæologica Cambrensis*,' various learned papers by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey; the Ordnance map of the island; Speed's Map of 1666, and other sources of information. One book I was very desirous of seeing, but no copy exists in the library of the British Museum, and therefore I think it must have been privately printed. The work alluded to is Miss Anghard Lloyd's '*History of Mona*,' 4to, no date given, which I am told contains the most copious list of ancient British remains as yet discovered in Anglesey.

"In none of the authorities I was able to search could I find any account of the ancient remains on the north-east side of the island now brought under notice. Anglesey being the most remote part of North Wales, and, in spite of railway facilities, being still comparatively unknown, is out of the route of ordinary tourists, particularly the north-east coast of it. There is one inconvenience to the antiquarian or other student who might visit that part of the island, namely, that the population is sparse and much distributed, and that it is rather an exception than otherwise to find the English language spoken or understood.

"I will conclude by saying that the good people at the Glyn Farm will at any time be only too happy to point out the ancient structural remains I have attempted to describe to anyone desirous of inspecting them."

With regard to the omission of the cromlech from the Ordnance Survey, Mr. Tregellas remarked that the survey for Anglesey was an early work, and was on the scale of an inch to a mile.

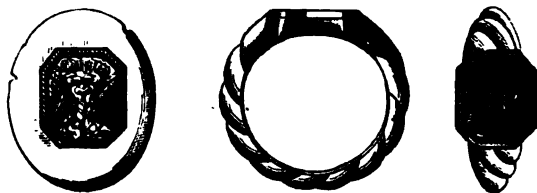
A memoir by Mr. W. T. Watkin on a "*Tabula Honestæ Missionis*" found at Bath, and some other neglected Britanno-Roman inscriptions, was then read, in which the writer pointed out some omissions in Professor Hübner's great work. The memoir will be given in a future portion of the Journal. Several observations were made upon the subject, and the advisability of giving early publicity to Mr. Watkin's investigations, Mr. Soden-Smith remarking upon the great importance and value of Professor Hübner's work, and the difficulties in collecting the materials for it. The inscriptions upon pottery were very widely scattered, and especially difficult to get together.

The proposed memoir on "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Warwickshire" by Mr. J. T. Burgess was postponed on account of the illness of the writer.

*Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.*

By Mr. WENTWORTH HUYSSHE.—Two pieces of sixteenth century embroidery, floral devices in rich colours, upon a white ground.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN-SMITH, F.S.A.—A gold ring with rebus of the name "Pekham," of the fifteenth century, found in the course of last year near Wrotham, Kent, and here figured. The device represents two birds, probably eagles, "pecking" at a flower, having the name "Pekham" above them,—an example of a playful and fanciful illustration then



common. There are places named "Peckham" in Kent and Surrey, from which many persons must have derived their names, and to one of whom the ring may have belonged. The most important personage bearing the name was John de Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279—1292, who came from Sussex, and whose family occupied an important position in the town of Lewes.

March 3, 1876.

C. D. E. FORTNUM, Esq., F.S.A., V.-C., in the chair.

Mr. J. POWELL read a memoir "On the probability of Albert Dürer's connection with the Stained-glass Windows of Fairford." The writer began by proposing to compare the chief outlines of the windows with some of the salient features of Dürer's character, and to show that it was extremely probable that he designed the whole, and executed a part, of those windows. He had no bias in the matter, the evidence he had met with had led him to the conclusions he had arrived at. Maintaining the existence of much analogy between the Fairford windows and works of the German and Flemish schools, he proceeded to compare them in detail with many of those works, and with certain windows in Cologne Cathedral attributed to Dürer. Both Dürer and the artist at Fairford had much in common with the "Biblia Pauperum" and the productions of Wohlgemuth and Martin Schön. Mr. Powell then mentioned the resemblances he thought he had discovered in portions of the artist's work at Fairford and Albert Dürer's known productions. Some of these resemblances might, he admitted, be small, but they added to the cumulative force of the argument. Mr. Powell concluded by summing up the evidence of the high artistic character of the windows, comparing their defects with alleged parallels in works by Dürer.

Upon being called on by the chairman, Mr. J. G. WALLER made the following observations upon Mr. Powell's memoir. He completely differed from the conclusions at which Mr. Powell had arrived for the following reasons:—"The sole mode of distinguishing the hand of an artist is by style, which is the reflex of his mind and the result of his study. No conventional forms or unimportant details can ever do more than indicate a school, and even that could scarcely be relied upon. The differences between A. Dürer and the artist of the Fairford window consist in the *mind* which is shown at work in each. The first was an original genius, and strength and vigour was the characteristic shown in everything he did. Educated under ecclesiastical conventions, he used or disused them at his pleasure. He was perfect in the grammar of his art. A good draughtsman of the human form, though ungraceful and often coarse, yet the anatomy and proportions were well understood. A great lover of nature showing itself in animals of all kinds, which, more than any other artist of his time, he introduces into his designs. So also with plants in foregrounds, flowers, etc. A master of linear perspective, as would be expected from one who was a geometrician, he contrasts strongly with the artist of Fairford. The work of the latter is feeble where A. Dürer is strong, but viewing his work in an endeavour to seek for his mental characteristic, we find him closely following, and *never* deviating from, ecclesiastical conventions. The work at Fairford was correctly described by Mr. Powell as mediæval; it is thoroughly so, and *none* of A. Dürer can be so called. A comparison on the spot with the small 'Passion' of the latter, was conclusively against his being the artist. If, as has been objected, this was executed at a more mature time, we have only to examine the earlier work of the 'Apocalypse' to convince ourselves that the same mind is at work here as in the two 'Passions,' equally distinct from the artist of Fairford, and the date of this work, 1498, marks the very period at or about which the windows must have been executed. As to the theory of the windows having been an early work of A. Dürer's, it is utterly untenable. The style of the work at Fairford is as fixed and determined as even that of A. Dürer himself; perhaps more so, for the artist keeps strictly to a beaten track. The Fairford windows indeed may be called the last '*liber laicorum*,' as they are probably the last complete expression of mediæval art."

A discussion ensued, in which the CHAIRMAN and Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN joined, the apparent feeling of the Meeting being against the acceptance of Mr. POWELL's conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN-SMITH, F.S.A.—A silver pomander, of rather unusual type, Italian, early seventeenth century; six inscribed roundels or trenchers, of the time of Henry VIII., having the following verses in a circle in the centre:

##### 1.

Take upp thy fortune withe good hop  
 Withe ryches thou dooste fyll thy lop  
 Yet losse were better for thy store  
 Thy quietnesse shoulde bee the more

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Powell has since published his memoir entire in "The Architect."

## 2.

Thou art the happest man a lyve  
 For every thing dothe make the thrive  
 Yett maie thy wife thye maister bee,  
 Wherefore take thrift and all for mee

## 3.

Receave thy hop, as fortune sendeth  
 But God ytt yr that fortune lendeth  
 Wherefore yt yu a shrewe haste gott  
 Thinke wth thy selfe ytt yr thy lott

## 4.

Thou maist bee poore, and what for that  
 How ytt man hadest neither cap nor hat  
 Thy mynde maie yett too quiet bee  
 That yu maist wyne as much as three

## 5.

I shrowe his heart that married mee,  
 My wife and I can never agree,  
 A knavish queane by Jis I sweare  
 The good mās breeche shee thinks to weare

## 6.

A wife that marieth husbandes three  
 Was never wished thereto by mee  
 I would my wife shoulde rather dye  
 Then for my death to weepe or crye.<sup>2</sup>

Bronze pennanular fibula found near Great Chesterford.

By the Rev. R. P. COATES.—A penny, of Æthilheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 791 to 805. It was found in excavating for the foundation of a new buttress to S. Edmund's Chapel in Rochester Cathedral, February 3, 1876; and was fortunately saved through the vigilance of Mr. J. T. Irvine. This extremely rare coin is of type 142, pl. x. of Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England," and of Ruding's "Annals," 2, pl. xii. It may be described thus:—*Obverse*.—ÆDILHEARDAREF, (the R.F. being in the centre). *Reverse*.—COENWULF REX, with *m* and *v* in the angles of a tribrach; *m* referring to *Mercia*; *v* an omitted letter in *Coenwulf*;—A plan, by Mr. Herbert Bensted, of a Roman Villa, near Maidstone, an account of which will appear in the forthcoming "Archæologia Cantiana:"—Rubbing of a mutilated Roman inscription lately found by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, at Charterhouse, near Bath;—Specimens of Samian ware found in dredging off the "Pudding-pan rocks," near Whitstable, Kent; some of the fragments bearing potters' stamps.

By Sir J. C. JERVOISE, BART.—Terra cotta whorl, from Troy; perhaps a portion of an abacus.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A broadsword by STETZIVS KEVELLER, a German armourer of repute of the latter part of the sixteenth century. The basket guard of Spanish type is richly chased and perforated in black steel; the blade stamped on both sides of the "Forte" with an Agnus Dei and the letter S. This fine weapon is of the time of Charles I.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. iii. p. 333 for a memoir by Mr. Albert Way on inscribed Fruit-trenchers, in which some examples are

figured; and a further notice of such objects in vol. vii. p. 305.

—Elbow-piece, belonging to a very rich suit of armour of the middle of the sixteenth century, probably Spanish. The ground has been diapered with gold and silver, and a seated figure of Fame or Victory is boldly embossed, with other ornaments.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL.—Various pieces of needlework, comprising some excellent specimens of the eighteenth century. They consisted of a landscape and a flower piece executed by Elizabeth Fuller, a sampler, dated 1725, and a chair cover, *circa* 1760.

By Mrs. W. HENLEY JERVIS.—Specimens of seventeenth and eighteenth century needlework, &c., executed by five generations of the exhibitor's family, comprising a bible cover, the escape of Lot; a view of Valle Crucis Abbey; gold brocade worked with fruit; portion of a gown ordered from the Spitalfields weavers by the Princess Anne, and afterwards used for curtains;—Miniature (by Stone) of Sir John Turton of Alrewas, Stafford, a Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of William III., whose will is printed in Shaw's "Staffordshire."

By Mr. BASIL MONTAGUE.—Needlework of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, consisting of a sampler, temp. Charles I.; a coverlid, dated 1686; a sampler, dated 1725, and two other specimens with flowers, &c.

By Mr. JOHN STEPHENS.—A silver gilt goblet, of graceful form, recently purchased in Hungary, and probably not earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century. Its exhibition gave rise to some observations upon our want of knowledge on foreign plate-marks by Mr. Morgan, who stated that he believed Mr. Weale, of Bruges, was forming a collection of such marks, with a view to their publication.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN.—Court of Roll of our lady the Queen, for the honor of Tickhill, Yorkshire, held October 3, 41 Elizabeth. At the commencement of this Roll, of which the accompanying woodcut is an accurate copy of the initial letter "T," is evidently one of a series of such accounts rendered to the crown by the local officer.<sup>1</sup> The original letter is seven inches high, and has therefore been reduced one half. It is an excellent specimen of the caligraphy of the period, but its special value consists in its containing within its flourishes a representation of the famous castle which was the "caput honoris" of Tickhill. This is not, as is usually the case, a mere fanciful drawing, but one which shows in a very prominent way the two great typical features of the fortress, its mound and keep. It is therefore probably the work of some local artist who thus made manifest the accuracy of his observation.

The lordship, wapentake, liberty, or honour of Tickhill, is a division of high antiquity, and was probably the estate and residence of some great English lord, of the original defences of which the existing earthworks formed an important part. These are composed of a large and more or less circular court, surrounded by a bank of earth, outside of which is a deep and broad ditch. Upon one side of the court, upon the line of the bank, and projecting into the ditch, is a lofty conical flat-topped mound.

Tickhill, soon after the Conquest, became the property of Robert de Busli, and is so entered in Domesday. He or his immediate successor crested the bank with a wall of masonry, which ascended the slopes of the

<sup>1</sup> No series of such documents is known, although there are many relating to this ancient possession of the Duchy of Lancaster in the National Collection.



mound, and at its summit abutted upon a shell keep. On the opposite side of the court, also against the curtain, were the domestic buildings, since replaced by others of later date, and near them is the gate-house, the substance of which still remains, and is original, though it has been augmented by an exterior arch in front, containing a portcullis groove



and other appendages of the Decorated period. The shell keep has been removed as low as the plinth, which at present is at the ground level, but being of ashlar and well defined, shows accurately the polygonal plan, the place and size of its small door, and the position of the well.

The present ascent is by a direct stair, just within the line of the curtain, but there is also a winding path, probably of modern date. The drawing, however, shows a staircase up the mound, which is placed obliquely, and therefore represents neither of the present ascents. It may be that the wall and doorway, shown in the lower part of the drawing represent a curtain which encircled the mound at its base inside the ditch, the door being approached by a drawbridge, also shewn; or it may be that this represents the Norman gate-house and bridge of the outer wall and ditch, the mound and keep being in the distance.

The formidable dragon or serpent at the top of the letter, with a tongue extended and expanded, is probably a flourish introduced at the pleasure of the scribe. It may, however, be taken to typify the terror-striking lord of the Norman fortress, just as on the exterior of certain of the old record chests are sometimes painted emblems having reference to the

documents within. Thus, on the chest containing the charters defining the duties of the vassals of the Earls of Chester, a gallows indicates the punishment of those who neglected them.

By Mr. W. PACE.—The following original MSS. Grant by the Abbot and Convent of St. James, Northampton, to Robert Glazun of land at Harleston, Northampton, in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. (This is printed at p. 83.)—Exemplification of Recovery in the Court of Common Pleas, 15 Henry VI., by John Lomley of Harleston and wife to Thomas Andrewe and Thomas Knight, of the manor of Harleston, and land, etc., there.—Licence by Queen Elizabeth to Robert Pergite and wife to alienate to Thomas Morgan and others land, etc., in Harleston, late belonging to the Convent of St. James, Northampton, 2 March, 26 Eliz.—Letters patent by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, appointing Henry Robinson of Crawley to be Sheriff of Northamptonshire, 21 January, 1655. Great Seal, much broken.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

STOTHARD'S MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES OF GREAT BRITAIN. A New Edition, with a large body of Additional Notes by JOHN HEWITT, Esq. Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly.

A NEW edition of Stothard is quite an era in archaeology, and we welcome it the more because two of the most industrious members of the Archaeological Institute have contributed greatly to its augmentation and improvement. It is well known that poor Stothard died before the completion of the work, having fallen from a ladder while copying an ancient glass-painting in the church of Beer Ferris, Devonshire. The work became the property of Mr. Bohn and has now been reproduced by Messrs. Chatto and Windus, with many additional notes by Mr. Hewitt. In order to the production of these notes, Mr. Hewitt visited almost all the monuments drawn by Stothard, and the result of his examinations was a constant subject of discussion between himself and Mr. Albert Way, to which we owe the large amount of *Addimenta* in the new edition now before us.

To Stothard's work, more than to any other, may perhaps be attributed the great revival of taste and feeling for the monuments of our ancestors which the present generation has seen. Those monuments are sometimes to be found in most unexpected places, posterity often forgetting many of the circumstances under which they became so located; and they are not unfrequently the sole object of antiquarian and historic interest in such places. The pages of the "Journal" are full of instances of the great value of such monuments to the antiquary and to the historic student, if any such evidence were needed—but the interest of the subject is of the most universal character, and this new edition of Stothard is sure to be very popular. It will be a great satisfaction to our readers to find that the results of recent archaeological investigations upon such subjects have been carefully brought together in the work under consideration.

Besides the exhaustive account of the effigies themselves, the work as it now stands includes a concise history of mediæval costume, of monumental architecture, sculpture, brass-engraving, and the numerous topics arising from the review of a series of examples extending from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Foreign as well as English monuments have been called into requisition to illustrate the numerous points discussed in the work. On the subject of royal sepulture, as it progressed from age to age, Mr. Hewitt remarks:—"It is extremely interesting to trace the progress of our royal sepulchres, step by step, century by century. The tomb at Winchester, assigned by tradition to William Rufus, is a simple coped stone, without figure, without inscription. At Worcester, the tomb of John is embellished with an effigy of

the monarch, once richly gilt and illuminated, and surrounded with sacred and symbolic figures and regal attributes. In the fourteenth century, we find the costly mausoleum of Edward the Third, where marble and gilded metal, statuary and 'werke of ryche entail,' altar-table and canopy, tabernacle and 'gablett,' vie with each other in the richness of their contributions to the structure of the hero's tomb. In the fifteenth century a tomb, however splendid, will no longer suffice: to Henry the Fifth is appropriated a chapel; where again we find every artifice of the sculptor, the architect, the illuminator, and the goldsmith brought into requisition to do honour to the majesty of the deceased king. Another step brings us to the grave of Henry the Seventh, a sumptuous church, with aisles and apses, altars and chantries, whose sculptured walls, traceried roofs, painted windows, and clustered pinnacles, seem rather the characteristics of some splendid cathedral than the mere elements of a mortal tomb-house." (Page 15.)

At page 44, a "Note" reminds us of a difficulty sometimes experienced by the archæologist in settling the date of a monument:—

"It unfortunately happens that, though mediæval works were generally executed in the style of the period which witnessed their construction, yet there exist undeniable testimonies of this goodly rule having in some cases been infringed. In the Abbey Church of St. Denis are no less than seven monumental effigies set up by St. Louis in the thirteenth century over the ashes of his royal predecessors, commencing with King Pepin. In the fourteenth century, Sir Walter Paveley, knight, in his will, dated at the Abbey of Romsey, directs: 'I will that two stones be laid in the church of the Friars Preachers of London, over my father and mother, and over my father's brother; one armed with the arms of Paveley, the other with Paveley and St. Phillibert impaled with my father's and brother's, and the label. Also that a stone be laid in the chapel of Bocton Church for my grandsire and granddame, with the escutcheon of Paveley and Burghersh quarterly' (Test. Vet., p. 106). William Blount, knight, Lord Montjoy, in his will, dated 1534, provides that, 'whereas the lady my mother lyeth buried in the new abbey, with Sir Thomas Montgomery, her last husband, I will that a better-fashioned tomb be there made, with two portraitures, one of my father, the other of my brother, Sir Rowland, with scriptures about the tomb. And forasmuch as Henry Keble, whose daughter I married, lieth in Aldermary Church in London, and no stone over him, and was a special benefactor to the building of the same, to the value of *mm*l. and more, I will that a stone be provided to lay over him. And whereas the Lady Elizabeth, my first wife, lyeth in the parish church of Essenden in Hertfordshire, and no stone upon her, I will that there be a fair, large, and convenient stone laid over her' (Test. Vet., p. 671). Still more curious is the will of Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, dated in 1504. In this, memorials are ordered for four generations,—'A tomb to be there placed (in the Priory Church of Buscough) with the personages of myself and both my wives, for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for. Also I will that the personages which I have caused to be made for my father and mother, my grandfather and great-grandfather, shall be set in the arches of the chancel within that priory, in the places provided for the same' (Test. Vet., p. 458).

"Such is the difficulty in that direction. On the other side of time an

equal irregularity presents itself. Here we find suits of armour and civil garments handed down from one generation to another. In the will of Guy, Earl of Warwick, dated 1315, we read: 'I give to Thomas, my son, my best coat of mail, helmet, and suit of harness, with all that belongs thereto; to John, my son, my second best coat of mail, helmet and harness; and I will that all the rest of my armour, bows, and other warlike implements shall remain in the Castle of Warwick for my heir' (Test. Vet., p. 54). The armour of Sir Michael de Poynings may be traced through three generations: in his will, dated 1368, he bequeaths to his heir 'all my armour, which my father left me.' (Test. Vet., p. 73.) If we seek an argument in the peculiar details of architectural accessaries, here again we are assailed by perplexities; for, on the one hand, architects affirm that monumental enrichments are sometimes in advance of the general style of the period; and, on the other, ancient wills furnish us with instances in which the testators direct their tombs to be constructed on the model of some pre-existing memorial. Sir Walter Manny, 1371, directs 'that a tomb of alabaster, with my image as a knight, and my arms thereon, shall be made for me, like unto that of Sir John Beauchamp in Paul's, in London' (Test. Vet., p. 87). And John, Earl of Pembroke, in 1372, writes: 'My body to be buried in the church of St. Paul, London, where a tomb is to be made for me near the wall of the north side; which tomb I will be made as like as possible to the tomb of Elizabeth de Burgh, who lies in the Minorities, London, without Aldgate; and I give for the making the said tomb CXL li' (Test. Vet., p. 87). At the time of the Reformation, it was no unusual thing to remove the monuments of the suppressed houses to some neighbouring or even distant church, in search of a resting-place. Thus the effigies of the Lords Stafford were 'outed' from Stone Priory, and carted half across the county to Stafford, as we learn from Leland: 'Ther wer dyverse Tumbes of the Lordes of Stafford in Stone Priory made of Alabaster. The Images that lay on them were, after the Suppression of the House, caryed to the Freer's Augustines in Fordebridg, alias Stafford Grene, cis flumen. And yn this Freres hong a Petigre of the Staffords' (Itin. vii. 26). Add to these irregularities the 'restorations' and caprices of modern times, and it will be acknowledged that the archaeologist has need of all his sagacity to avoid the dangers that impede his inquiry. In a church in Herefordshire there is a slab of Purbeck, from which the brass effigy of a knight has been abstracted. An antiquarian friend of the rector has promised to send him the first ancient brass he can lay hold of, to fill up the gap. It occurred to the writer of these lines to observe a latten effigy of the fourteenth century in the floor of a church founded in the fifteenth. The proprietor of the adjacent mansion explained that the personage was an ancestor of his, buried in another parish, where he had some property; but that, as he never went there, he had caused the monument to be brought to his own church. In the collection of the late Mr. Hamper, of Birmingham, was a brass of the fifteenth century, formerly in Brailes Church, Warwickshire; being purchased at his sale by a neighbouring proprietor, it has been laid down in the old church of Wroxhall Abbey. At Mavesyn Ridware, in Staffordshire, is a series of incised slabs representing armed knights of the middle ages, set up by one of their descendants in the present century."

Some singular experiences of the bad usage to which our marble

knights have been subjected are given here and there. At Alvechurch, in Worcestershire the fine effigy of Blanchfront projecting freely above his tomb, with an arch above and a wall behind, presented a large unoccupied space ; so the hiatus between the knight's statue and the wall was appropriated as the Church coal-hole ! (page 107). Sir Hugh Calvely's effigy at Bunbury, Cheshire, is of alabaster ; the knight's fingers, part of his feet, his sword, and part of his crest have disappeared. They have been swallowed by the cattle of the district, powdered alabaster administered in a drench, being probably a receipt among the Cheshire farmers.

As in the preceding edition, the work is presented in two forms, large paper with elaborate illumination, and an imperial quarto with less abundant colouring and gilding. The letterpress now occupies 200 pages, as against 112 pages in the old edition. The only addition to the engravings is the woodcut illustrative of the Malvern effigy, after a drawing by Mr. Albert Way.

## Archæological Intelligence.

THE Rev. E. G. Harvey is preparing "A Concise History of the Ancient Church and Borough of Truro," price 7s. 6d. ; to subscribers, 5s. The author is already favourably known by a history of the parish of Mullion, Cornwall. Subscribers' names may be sent to Messrs. Lake and Lake, printers, Truro.

Our excellent member, Mr. C. J. Palmer, F.S.A., who has so often exerted himself on behalf of the antiquities of his native town and county, is preparing for publication, "The Sepulchral Reminiscences of Great Yarmouth and the neighbouring Parishes." It will be published in post 4to, uniform with the *Perustration of Great Yarmouth*, and will be illustrated by numerous Armorial bearings and other engravings. The work is intended to be (to some extent) a reprint of the late Mr. Dawson Turner's "Sepulchral Reminiscences of a Market Town, as afforded by a list of the interments within the walls of the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth," a book long out of print, and much sought for by all engaged in genealogical pursuits. But Mr. Palmer's work will take a wider scope than Mr. Turner's, which was restricted to the church itself, while the present work will be extended to the cemeteries and other burial places of Yarmouth, and the churches and churchyards of neighbouring parishes. The editor will be greatly obliged by any communications calculated to promote the completeness of the work. The publisher is Mr. G. Nall, 182, King Street, Yarmouth, and the price will be fixed when the work is ready for publication.

Mr. Harrison, of Ripon, has just published a new and much enlarged edition of "Walbran's Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey, and places of interest in the vicinity." The appearance of this work has been long expected. It is now quite a considerable volume, comprising over two hundred pages of large 8vo, and is throughout executed in a very superior style. If there is a fault it is in the shortness of the "Memoir" of the original author ; who often contributed to the interest of the meetings of the Archæological Institute by information upon many of the discoveries which are now embodied in the work before us. The illustrations of the work are numerous and especially worthy of commendation, including as they do the excellent map of the "Environs of Ripon," &c., and the ground-plan of Fountains Abbey, which were of so much interest and value to the members of the Institute at the Ripon Meeting in 1874, and which were comprised in the admirable "Manual" for that meeting prepared for their gratification by Mr. Fairless Barber, the Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Antiquarian and Topographical Association.

A prettily got-up volume—perhaps too smart externally—has been just published by Mr. J. Tom Burgess, of Leamington. It is called

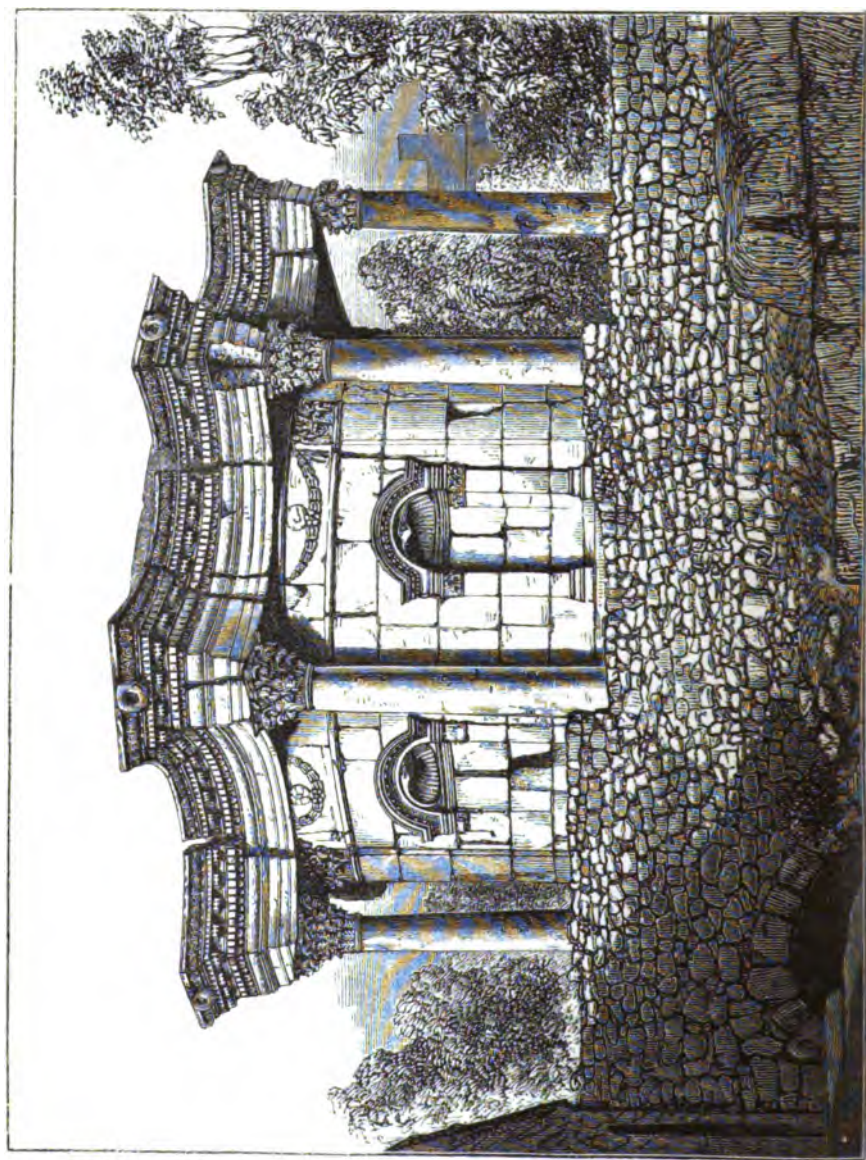
"Historic Warwickshire: its legendary lore, traditionary stories, and romantic episodes." The author is already known by several works, and has lately taken a prominent part in the investigation of the antiquities of Warwickshire, some of the results of which he has lately brought before the Archaeological Institute. The work now before us reads very pleasantly, and is for the most part written with care. There is, however, often a striving for effect, and some portions of the arguments founded on ethnological deductions seem somewhat strained. The work has many illustrations, and is published by Simpkin, Marshall & Co., of London.

It may be well here to repeat the correction given in our last Number of an error in the printing of the illustrations to Sir Gilbert Scott's memoir on "The Transition from the Romanesques to the Pointed Style in England," by which Nos. 6 and 9 were accidentally reversed. This gives us the opportunity of adding that No. 13 is from "St. Denis" and not from "Sens"; the originals being at the time in a timber-shed near the Abbey church used as a temporary museum.









Temple of Venus, Baalbeck.

# The Archaeological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER, 1876.

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## AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF BAALBECK, COMMONLY CALLED THE TEMPLE OF VENUS.

By the LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, R.A.I.

BAALBECK is a small town situated at the base of the Anti-Lebanon, and facing some of the highest peaks of the Lebanon, which are generally capped with snow, and has a population consisting of Metaoualis, Mussulmans and Christians. It stands on a slight eminence, and is watered by a beautiful stream, whose source is near the town, and is a favourite resort of the idle and pleasure-seeking. The district is rich and tolerably well cultivated with the usual Syrian crops, and also grows a considerable quantity of potatoes. The groves of poplar, although too near the temples, add to the picturesque effect. Its name among the Greeks and Romans was Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun, and the present name is probably its ancient Phœnician name revived. Baal, the principal deity worshipped, is considered to correspond with the Sun or Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans. The ancient walls of the town are still tolerably preserved, and the enormous blocks of stone used in their construction rank among the wonders of the world. They were probably erected by the Phœnicians. There are the remains of three temples existing at Baalbeck. The principal temple, that of Jupiter, must have been a wonderful edifice. There are still six gigantic columns remaining *in situ*, in spite of the damage done to them by earthquakes, Turks, and Arabs. In the year 1550, Thevenot, the first European traveller, saw twenty-seven still standing.

The second temple is that called of the Sun; it was not so large as that of Jupiter, but it is better preserved, and was constructed in a more elaborate style. It was highly ornamented with decorative sculpture. There is also a

large enclosure in which these two temples were placed, with *sacella* and other pertinencies of the temples.

The circular temple stands outside the enclosure, and is much smaller than the other two. "The *cella* is of a circular form, 38 ft. in diameter, and is surrounded by a peristyle of six columns, 9 ft. distant from the wall of the *cella*. The entablature, which there supports it, is not carried round in a circle, but retreats between each pair of columns near to the wall of the *cella* (as will be seen by the engraving), forming a kind of semicircular apse, and appearing like radiations from a central nucleus. The exterior wall is ornamented with pilasters and niches; the interior is encompassed by two tiers of small columns. The lower Ionic supports a plain cornice, and the upper tier are Corinthian with tabernacles over them. The building was covered by a domed roof, but this has fallen, and the walls are greatly shattered." I have borrowed this very accurate description of a difficult subject from Porter's handbook. It is generally called the Circular Temple, and sometimes the Temple of Venus, without, however, any authority for the name except the presumption that a Syrian city could not be without a temple devoted to the goddess of love. Eusebius expressly mentions that there was a temple devoted to Venus under the title of *Ἡδονή*. No doubt there were many other temples whose ruins have disappeared. However, it appears to me that a discovery, made a few years since, settles the question. An Englishman, as I am informed, undertook some excavations at Baalbeck, and in the course of them discovered in the vicinity of the circular temple, a marble statue in a fine state of preservation, which he was about to remove, when the populace of Baalbeck, whether influenced by fanaticism, avarice or caprice does not appear, wantonly mutilated the statue, broke off its head, and broke its body in several places. It still remains in the market-place, and has been rudely restored. It represents a female draped and seated on a throne, with a lion standing on its left side. This animal has also lost its head, but its figure and legs leave no doubt as to the nature of the beast. There probably was another lion on the right side of the figure also. The statue is of white marble, and is a fair specimen of sculpture.

I have found a photograph of this figure, from which the



Statue of the Goddess Cybele.



engraving has been made. It gives a fair representation of it, and I have no doubt that it was intended to represent Cybele. If the head had been preserved, it would probably have shown a turretted crown. It is also possible that there was another lion on her right. However, although Cybele is generally represented between two lions, there are examples with only one. Another peculiarity is that there is some indication of wings, as if the lion was a winged one.

With respect to this goddess, who was an important Asiatic deity, and generally worshipped in Asia Minor and Syria, she had a variety of names. She was called Mater Deorum, Magna Mater, Cybele, Cybebe, Cydastis, Bereynthia, Brimo, Dondymene, Magna Idæa Mater Deorum. She was particularly worshipped in Bithynia near Mount Ida.

Greek mythology is a very confused medley of legends, and the number of Herculeases and Jupiters enumerated by Cicero in his treatise "*De Naturâ Deorum*" is enough to bewilder any inquirer. The mythology of Asia is still more obscure and embarrassing. Independently of their local deities and heroes, there is a mixture of Greek traditions, which doubtless increased after the extension of the Roman influence over the Eastern World. One of the most famous eastern deities was *Astarte* or *Astaroth*, the Oriental Venus. She was chiefly adored by the Phœnicians and Sidonians, and her influence did not extend much beyond the territories of this maritime people.

It is impossible that this deity can be here represented, and the idea that the Dea Syria, with her lions and *Galli* can represent Venus is very improbable. Lucian's curious tract, "*De Deâ Syriâ*," is very instructive, and it may not be out of place to give some account of the great temple of Hierapolis (near Bambyce, two days' journey N.E. of Aleppo), and of the religious ceremonies performed there. It was the principal shrine of Syria, and although Lucian considers the deity to be *Juno*, she has many attributes which could identify her with Cybele. His account of the origin of the temple, of its construction, and the ceremonies celebrated in it are very interesting. He goes on to say, "Most people say that Deucalion the Scythian founded the temple. In the time of Deucalion there was a great deluge. The present race of men is not the first; as the former one perished. The present generation is the second, which sprang from Deu-



calion. This is the legend concerning the first generation. These men committed all kinds of nefarious acts. They violated their oaths; they did not entertain strangers; they did not spare suppliants. On account of these misdeeds, a great calamity overtook them. Then the earth gave out much water. There were dreadful rains; the rivers rose to an immense height; and the sea rose until everything was submerged, and all the men perished with the exception of Deucalion, who was rescued for another generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was saved in this wise: He had a large ark, and into it he entered—he, and his children, and his wives. There came, moreover, and entered it pigs, horses, lions, serpents, and every manner of beasts that feed upon the earth, all in pairs. They did not hurt each other, and became great friends. And they all remained together until the waters subsided.”

Others asserted that the temple was erected to Rhea by *Atys*. *Atys* was a Syrian of whom Rhea was enamoured, and according to Lucian “first established the mysteries of Rhea which are celebrated by the Phrygians, Lydians, and Samothracians. For after he incurred the disgrace of Cybele, he gave up the appearance of a man, and dressing like a woman, travelled through the country, celebrating orgies and proclaiming his sufferings, until he reached Syria, and built a temple near the river Euphrates. The attributes of the deity whom he worshipped in most respects resembled Cybele. For she was drawn by lions, she held a drum, and bore a tower on her head, such as she is represented by the Lydians. Her priests, the *Galli*, also, are not like the priests of Juno, but more of Cybele, for they imitate *Atys*, and take vows of perpetual chastity.

Others ascribe the temple to Juno, and say that it was founded by Bacchus on his return from Ethiopia. Lucian seems to lean to the idea that the deity was Juno, and connects it with the legend of Combabus, which gives a different origin for the peculiar institution of the *Galli*. He describes the temple as a kind of Pantheon. But the most prominent figure is that of *Juno*, which is a very remarkable one. As he says “She certainly is Juno, but she has some resemblance to Minerva, Venus, the Moon, Rhea, Diana, Nemesis, and the *Parcæ*. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spindle. She bears on her head, rays of light, and a tower,

and the *cestus* round her girdle, which is peculiar to Venus Urania. She is covered with gold and precious stones, onyxes, hyacinths, emeralds, &c."

There are many other statues of gods and heroes, of Bacchus, Apollo, Atlas, Mercury, Lucina, and strangely enough of Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, Achilles, Nereus, Philomele, Rome, Semiramis, Stratonice, Combabus, Alexander, and Sardanapalus. In the hall there are at large oxen, horses, eagles, bears, and lions, who are all tame and do not injure men. There are a great many *Galli* and priests attached to the temple, who have their several duties assigned to them. They are more than three hundred in number. They are all dressed in white with caps on their heads. The high priest alone wears purple and a golden tiara. He gives many more details about their ceremonies, festivals, &c., and seems to lean towards the idea that *Juno* is the name to be applied to the deity. Certainly many of her attributes are the same as those of Cybele, and although it is a difficult question, I think that this deity was the one principally worshipped on the Euphrates.

## LINCOLN CASTLE.

(Addressed to the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society at their Meeting in June, 1875).

By G. T. CLARK, ESQ.

WHEN "the devil looked over Lincoln," he is said to have smiled at man's costly devotion. But if the smile of the arch-enemy of mankind was, as must be supposed, in derision of man's attempts at progress, the occasion of it was singularly ill-chosen, for in the whole of Britain it would be difficult to find a tract for the well-being of which man has exerted himself so much and so successfully. Two thousand years ago, that broad but not unbroken plain which extends from the Wash to the Humber, from the Trent and the uplands of Nottingham and Derby to the German Ocean, was composed of arid heath and moorish fen, contributing little to the material support of man, and probably nothing to his moral culture. Beasts of chase, fish, and water-fowl shared the territory with savage hordes, but little removed from the animals upon which they preyed. By slow degrees, by many generations of men, labouring through many centuries, great things have been achieved. The fen has been banked and drained, and the heath brought under culture, so that the whole expanse is now covered by green pastures and rich root-crops, and year after year the autumnal sun is reflected from broad fields waving with golden grain.

Nor has the moral been behind the material progress. From the castled hill of Belvoir, to the rocks of Newark and Nottingham, and the crowned promontory of Lincoln, the land bristles with the works of man. The constructive taste and skill of many generations, and their deep religious feeling, are represented by a rich variety of ecclesiastical architecture, from the rude and primitive tower of Barton, to the lordly spires of Louth and Newark, and the glorious lanthorn of Boston; churches and schools, mansion-houses and granges, "tower and village, dome and farm," are un-

mistakeable evidences of peace, prosperity, and civilization. There, too, are to be seen, not sparingly scattered, the sunken arch and ruined aisle, the ivy-covered remains, and richly-carved fragments, of many religious houses, making pleasant the study of hoar antiquity, and reminding us that there was a time when each was a centre of gospel truth, and of an early and beneficial civilization, the abode of men who did good work in their day, and founded by those who—

“ Lov’d the Church so well, and gave so largely to it,  
They thought it should have canopied their bones  
Till Domesday.”

Something of all this is visible to mere mortal ken, and far more to him who adds to the material prospect a knowledge of the past and the distant. It is true that the vision thus beheld from the guarded mount of Lincoln is not equal to that far wider and more noble outlook from a more exalted pinnacle, upon the description of which Milton has poured forth in one glittering roll the full stream of his learning, illuminated by the fire of his genius, but it is nevertheless one in which the student of the past may well take delight.

Lincoln itself is thickly strewed with the footsteps of the past. The Briton, the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Englishman, and the Norman, have successively been lords of the soil, and each has left his mark, either in material traces, or in a nomenclature still less liable to decay. A great historian, our chief authority also in matters of topography, has pronounced the earthworks to the north of the city to be of British origin. If this be so, they must be the work of those Romanised Britons who attempted, though in vain, to hold their country against the Picts and Scots, and the Scandinavian hordes from beyond the German Ocean, and who, while so striving, showed some considerable acquaintance with the Roman rules of castrametation, though unequal, it would seem, to the works in masonry for which that people was so celebrated. The conclusion that these earthworks are, if not Roman, post-Roman British, rests upon the fact that their outline is rectangular, and that the enclosure is bisected, nearly equally, by the Roman way.

Of the earlier Britons, those dispossessed by the Romans, the traces are slight indeed, and probably confined to a few nearly effaced entrenchments, and to the roots of such

proper names as "Durnomagus," "Segelocum," "Bano-vallum," on the Bane river, and "Lindum," names which probably, like "Eboracum" and "Londinum," represent an earlier appellation. The mound at Riseholme, if sepulchral, may, of course, be of any age; but the district, possessing but few of those grand features which are usually the earliest to receive their names, and the latest to lose them, has retained no very obvious traces of its primal inhabitants.

Of their successors, the remains are of a very different character. The imperial mistress of the world left everywhere traces of her sway not easily to be obliterated. Her measures of war were also calculated—*pacis imponere morem*. From the station at Lindum, great roads radiated in several directions, and preserved that facility of communication which civilised conquerors usually seek to establish.

In the modern city of Lincoln, the Roman Lindum is well represented. The Roman walls, 10 to 12 ft. thick, and 20 to 25 ft. high, included a nearly rectangular area, within which was the high ground of the upper city, and the slope from thence to the river, a space in length, north and south, 1100 yards, and in breadth, at the upper end, 460 yards, and at the lower end, 590 yards. Of this enclosure, the northern or upper end was cut off by a cross wall, and formed the military quarter, 385 yards N., and south by an average of 517 yards E., and west. Of the four gates of the station, that to the north, upon the Ermine Street, still bears a name which must have descended from the time when it was first erected, and when it probably superseded an earlier structure, and is called the New-port. Of the opposite, or south gate, only one jamb remains. Of the east gate, the place is known, and a few of its very peculiar stones are built into the adjacent enclosures. The west gate was laid open a few years ago, but as the arch gave way under the process, it was removed. Of the walls which connected these gates, some fragments remain. One lies west and another east of the north gate, and there is a considerable mass south of the north-east angle, capping which, the foundations of a round tower, of 9 ft. interior diameter, have been discovered. There is also a fragment of wall in the slope of what is called the observatory mound, a little west of the remains of the south gate. The exterior ditch, also

Roman, is in parts very perfect, broad and deep along the north front, and, though narrower, deep and well preserved about the north-east angle. There is also, within the area, a fragment of the wall of a considerable building, known, probably from its mediæval use, as the Mint. These Roman walls are all laid upon the natural ground, although the earth is more or less heaped up against their inner face as a ramp or terrace.

The southern half of the Roman station is divided between the cathedral and the castle, the church, though the later occupant, taking the larger half. Some centuries, however, must have passed between the departure of the Romans and the throwing up of the earthworks of the castle, during which time the Roman walls were broken down, and their contained buildings laid waste, as is shown by the dilapidated condition of those remaining parts which have been found buried beneath the castle works.

The English fortress is placed within the south-west quarter of the Roman station, and its outline, roughly four-sided, was no doubt governed by the lines of the two adjacent Roman walls. It stands on the crest of the steep slope, covered, as in Roman days, by the city, and descending about 200 ft. to the river. It is contained within a massive earth-bank, from 50 to 80 yards broad, and from 20 to 30 ft. in height, internally of easy slope, externally steep, and which, though in substance within the Roman area, extends its skirts beyond the line of the wall, so that the Roman west gate was found buried within its substance, and a fragment of the south wall is still seen to rise through its slope. This bank measures, upon its north face, 180 yards, upon its south face 170 yards, its east 134 yards, and its west 163 yards. Here, as at York, it is evident not only that these earth-works are of post-Roman date, but that the Roman walls were completely ruined before the earth-works were thrown up. The enclosure may contain from six to seven acres. At the south-east angle the bank swells into and ends in a large conical mound, about 40 ft. high, and 50 ft. diameter at the top. Besides this, there is a second and larger mound, about 40 ft. high, and 100 ft. diameter at the top, which was the citadel or Keep of the place, and the site of the hall of its English lord. This mound, though near the centre of the south front, was not a continuous

part of the regular earth-bank, which it here replaced. It had, as at Tamworth, Arundel, and elsewhere, its own proper circular ditch, communicating on the outside with, and forming a part of, the regular ditch of the place, as may yet be traced out, notwithstanding much filling up.

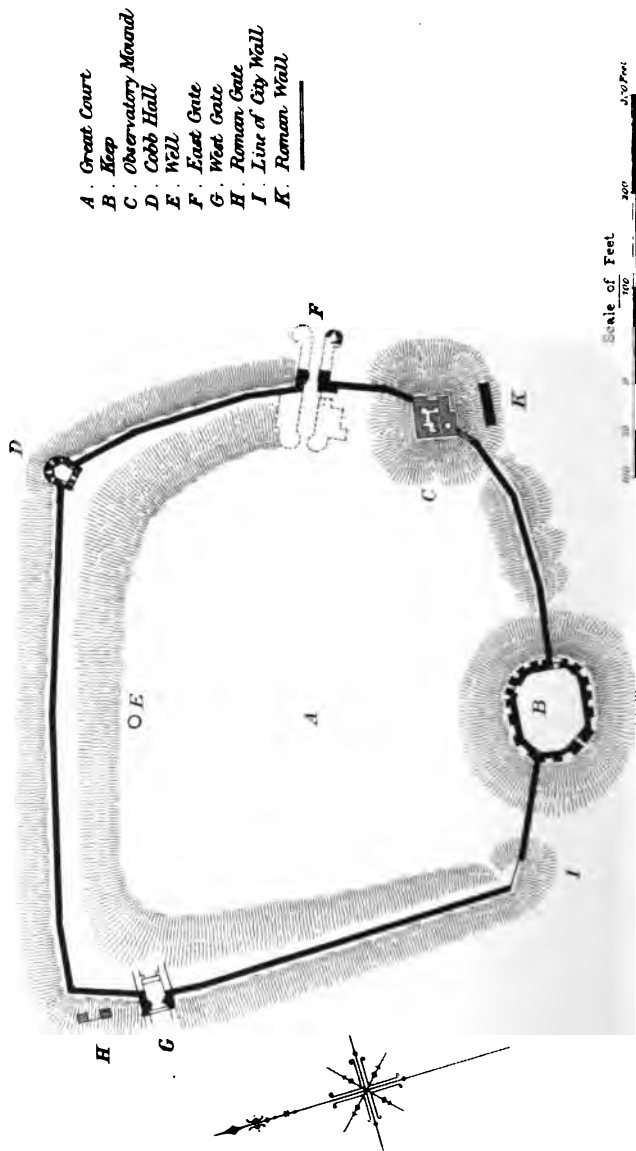
It will thus be seen that Lincoln Castle, as regards its earthworks, belongs to that type of English fortress in which the mound has its proper ditch, and is placed on one side of an appended area, also with its bank and ditch. Such are Windsor and Arundel, Berkhamstead and Tonbridge, on a large, and Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Barwick-in-Elmete, on a smaller scale. The general area, which at Windsor, Arundel, and Berkhamstead, is oblong, to suit the contour of the ground, is here, as at Tonbridge, Tickhill, and Clare, where the ground is not strongly marked, nearer to a more solid figure, of which, in this case, two sides and the contained angle are governed by the line of the old Roman wall. In general these fortresses are much alike, and all belong to that class of burghs known to have been thrown up by the English in the ninth and tenth centuries, and at about the same time by the Scandinavian settlers in Normandy. Two mounds, though not unknown, are uncommon. At Lewes there are two, one at each end of an oblong enclosure. At Hereford, besides the keep mound, now removed, there is a mass of earth at the north-east corner of the outer area, a part of the bank, and at Cardiff, also, besides the keep mound, are two masses of earth upon the north-east and south-east corners of the enclosure, forming, which there the keep mound does not, a part of the bank. Such subordinate mounts are not uncommon in earthworks of all ages, and are totally distinct from the grand isolated moated mound which gives character to the earthworks of the ninth and tenth centuries, both in England and Normandy.

When, in 1068, the Conqueror marched from York to Cambridge, he paused at Lincoln, even then a very important place, fenced in and populous, not, indeed, as yet boasting a minster, but numbering 1150 inhabited houses, a leading member of the famous Danish civic confederation, and governed by twelve lawmen, who wielded powers elsewhere exercised by the territorial lords. As he traversed the entrenchment that covered the northern front, and





# PLAN OF LINCOLN CASTLE.



entered the city through the strong Roman gateway, still in use, he could not but appreciate the strength and importance of the place, of which he seems to have been allowed to take peaceable possession. Here, as at York and Cambridge, he at once ordered the English stronghold to be converted into a Norman castle. What was the precise condition of the existing work, or what was immediately executed in obedience to William's order, we do not know ; there were, of course, defences either of timber or stone along the crest of the banks, and upon the summit of the mound ; but whether William merely directed these to be strengthened, or had them replaced by walls such as were coming into use in Normandy, does not appear ; probably the former, as time pressed ; there was much work of the same kind to execute all over England, and it was important to secure an immediate shelter for the Norman garrison. It is pretty clear, from the rapidity with which the chief castle at York was constructed, and from its early destruction by fire, that timber entered largely into its composition ; and the lesser castle in that city, placed upon the Bayle Hill after the insurrection, and which was completed in a very few days, must have been wholly of that convenient material. That the 166 houses which we learn from Domesday were destroyed to make way for Lincoln Castle, were not removed to allow of the extension of its area, is certain, for the Norman walls stand upon the English banks. It is probable that during the long and prosperous reign of the Confessor, houses had been allowed to be built upon the slopes and glacis of the ditch, and, perhaps, actually within the fortress. This, of course, could not be tolerated, and is probably the removal recorded. But, if timber was employed, it was, of course, only until works in masonry could be erected, and whatever the Conqueror's officers may have actually executed, there can be but little doubt but that they or their immediate successors designed the gates, walls, and keep of the castle, as these now stand.

THE NORMAN CASTLE.—The castle is placed in the south-west quarter of the Roman station, high above the city and the valley of the Witham, which lie to its south and east, and somewhat elevated, artificially, above the table land to its north and west. Its walled *enceinte* lies just within the Roman area, to the adjacent limits of which its southern

and western fronts are roughly parallel. The curtain wall, a very remarkable, and on the whole a very perfect work, is built upon the ridge or central line of the earth-bank, and therefore contains the same space, and is in circuit about 650 yards ; it is from 8 to 10 ft. thick, and 30 to 35 or even 40 ft. high, exhibiting much herring-bone work, and certainly of Norman date. Opposite to the great mound, where the earth-banks cease, the wall is continued across the ditch and up the slope of the mound, as at Tamworth and Tonbridge. To enable it to reach the level of the battlements of the Keep, it is raised by steps to the point of junction, and there contains chambers which will be more conveniently described with the Keep.

In the wall are two principal gates, one to the east, opening into the upper city, opposite to the Exchequer Gate of the Close, and the other to the west, opening direct into the field. Besides these is a small door opening towards the south upon the lower city, and a door in the Keep in the same direction.

The east or main entrance is placed in the east wall at about 40 yards from its south-east angle. The west gate stands in the west wall, about 30 yards from the north-west angle, which length is thrown back at a very obtuse angle, probably to avoid the remains of the Roman west gate, which stood about four yards in front of it. Both gates are of Norman date, and were originally much alike, each being a plain arch, placed in a rectangular bay or recess in the wall, 18 ft. wide by 10 ft. deep, instead of, as was more usual, in a regular square gatehouse, as at Tickhill, Porchester, and Sherborne. The bay may have been closed in the rear by a cross-wall with a second archway, of which there is an indication at the west gate. There was an upper chamber with a timber floor. At the east gate the arch is full-centred, of 14 ft. opening, without chamfer or rebate, or ornament of any kind. Probably there is a portcullis groove, but if so it is blocked up and completely concealed by the woodwork of the modern doors. It is certain that the main entrance of a Norman castle could never have been so constructed that there should be no rebate against which the door should be pressed when closed, and probably the fitting was composed of a ring of stones inserted, as in the doorway in the cross-wall of Rochester keep, without bond,

into the exterior arch. Over the door is a pointed window, probably an early English or early Decorated insertion. Later in the Decorated period, this gateway has been masked by a front containing a bold equilateral arch, springing from two angular corbels, behind which the Norman doorway is seen. Above, the two outer angles are capped by two round turrets, corbelled out of the angle and rising about 6 ft., and between them the curtain projects at a low angle, the salient being over the entrance. The arrangement is unusual, but the effect is good. It is said that the turrets contained staircases, ascending from the upper floor to the battlements, but they are not now accessible; there were lateral walls projecting forward from each side of the entrance. Across the ditch, and between them, was the drawbridge, traces of the recesses for working which still remain. The entrance was flanked by two stone lions, of one of which a fragment is preserved in the castle; the interior additions to this gate are entirely modern.

The west gate, of the same age and pattern, has fortunately been long walled up, and so has escaped alteration. Here the portcullis groove is exposed to view, and there is a rebate for the door, though concealed by the cross wall. Here also is what looks like the springing of an arch across the inner face of the bay, though Norman mural towers were sometimes, as at Ludlow, left open, to be closed only with brattice-work. The upper floor has two small Norman windows in front, and a small door, flat-headed, but with a round-headed arch of relief; this opened upon the battlements of the barbican. Of this barbican, which was composed of two flanking walls and an outer gate, the north wall remains and part of the south. The wall rises to the level of the upper floor of the gatehouse, projects about 30 ft. and is 7 ft. thick. The masonry is evidently of the date of the gateway, and contains some herring-bone work. The approach must have been very steep, the sill of the gate being some feet above the level of the counterscarp.

Another work of Norman date is a rectangular tower, about 25 ft. by 40 ft., placed upon the summit of the south-eastern mound; it is of two floors, vaulted, and chiefly built in ashlar; it contains a good straight mural staircase. To the Norman work has been added, in the Decorated Period, a front, upon the east face, also of two floors, flanked by two

square turrets, bringing up the whole tower to a square of 40 ft. The peculiarity of this tower is, that, instead of flanking the curtain, it is set back a little from its line. A modern *gazebo* has been added above, and the whole is dignified by the name of the Observatory.

In the curtain, at the foot of the Observatory mount, and between it and the Keep, is a pointed arch of relief, and below it, beneath a rude flat lintel, composed of two large stones, is a small door, either never opened, or closed at a very early period. This arch is certainly late Norman, and seems of the same date with that part of the curtain in which it is imbedded.

The Keep, also Norman, is an unusually perfect example of a shell keep. It is in plan a somewhat irregular polygon, 64 ft. north and south by 74 ft. east and west, diameters within the walls, which are about 8 ft. thick. Within, it has twelve sides, of irregular lengths. Without, are fifteen, and each angle is capped with a broad flat pilaster, all rising from a common plinth. About two-thirds of the height there is a set-off, common to wall and pilaster; the latter has also a bold roll moulding. The wall is 20 ft. high to the rampart walk. The parapet is gone. The Keep stands upon the line of the curtain, which abuts upon it at opposite sides; so dividing it that there are eight facets outside and seven inside. The main entrance is by a full-centred arch of 7 ft. opening, set in a broad, projecting buttress or pilaster towards the north-east. The arch of the actual doorway and of its inner recess is segmental. There was no portcullis, and the door had a stout wooden bar. Above the outer arch is a hood-moulding with a light Norman ornament, said to be a restoration from the original. At present a straight steep flight of steps leads up to the door, and these, though modern, probably represent the original mode of approach. There is another and smaller door, diagonally opposite to the main door, to the south-west; this is quite plain, the arches all segmental, the outer boldly splayed. The opening is 5 ft. 6 in. wide. There are traces of something like a third door in the eastern face outside the curtain, opening from a bay in the wall. Opposite to this, in the west wall, is another bay, also 12 ft. wide, but no trace of an opening. There are no loops in the wall of the Keep, no trace of any buildings within its area, nor have any founda-

tions been discovered there. It is pretty clear that any accommodation provided there was by means of timber structures placed against the wall, as at York, leaving an open court in the centre. There are indications, on the masonry, of an upper floor. Where the two curtains join the Keep, each contains, at its rampart level, a mural chamber, about 6 ft. wide by 12 ft. long, the floor of which is about 10 or 12 ft. from the ground. These chambers are choked with brambles and not accessible, but they have no door towards the ramparts of the curtain, and seem to have been entered from the upper part of the Keep; that to the west is a garderobe, and has a loop and shoot upon the north or inner face; the other has a loop only, and that outwards; one of them is said to have been groined and vaulted; the vaults springing from columns in the angles. This is probably that towards the east, and it may have been an oratory, as at Arundel.

The above works, curtain, gateways, Observatory tower, and Keep contain the only Norman masonry now extant. The curtain, for its great length, is singularly deficient in flanking towers. At the south-west angle the wall has been laid open by a wide breach, and built up, and there may have been a tower, but it is more probable that here was the junction with the city wall.

Generally, the lower two-thirds of the curtain look much older than the upper part, and the line of junction is very uneven, as though the wall had long been left in a ruinous condition. This may have been so, but as there is no diminution in the excessive thickness, it seems more probable that the new work is confined to the facing. No doubt when the castle was taken by the county much was done to the walls, but they could scarcely, at that time, have been much lower than they are now, for to rebuild them at their present thickness would have been a great and quite unnecessary expense.

The herring-bone work is of a superficial character, confined to the facing; not, as in the Roman work, carried through the substance of the wall. Mr. Wilson, in his paper on this castle, states that when the foundations of the curtain were laid open during some repairs, they were found to be worked in with a sort of framework of timber, tying the whole together. Such a precaution was often taken by the

Norman builders, even to the extent of enclosing ties in the superstructure, especially where the work was laid upon made ground. The cavities left by the decay of such ties are seen at Rochester, Dinas Powis, and Brunlaise.

There is a flanking tower capping the north-east angle of the place, an insertion, though whether replacing a Norman structure is not known. It is called "Cobbe Hall," and is in plan very slightly horseshoe, with prolonged sides and a square rear. It is in breadth 25 ft., and in length 40 ft. It has a basement and first floor, both covered in with acutely pointed vaulting, with deeply splayed loops towards the field. The basement is reached by a trap-door and ladder, and the upper floor and battlements by a stone stair. It seems from the rings let into the wall to have been a prison. It has been called a chapel, probably because its round or apsidal end looks towards the north-east.

There is a deep well in the north side of the great enclosure, still in use, and the bottom of which has recently been enlarged into a cistern. The castle stands upon the oolite rock, and is mainly built of that material, laid as roughly-coursed rubble, but the Keep, the Observatory Tower, and the Decorated work are mostly of ashlar.

It is difficult to form a decided opinion as to the age of the several works in masonry remaining in this castle. The two gateways and much of the curtain, especially its north and west sides, are probably early Norman. The Keep and Observatory Tower are later in the same style. To judge from the little postern; the curtain between the Observatory mount and the Keep, and probably the part beyond it, are also late Norman, that is to say the English defences of the Keep were the last to be replaced, and it was a century before the isolation of its mound was broken by the carrying the curtain across its ditches, and the completion of the general *enceinte*. Altogether it seems probable that the lower stage of the two gateways, and the older part of the curtain, were constructed during the reign of the Conqueror, or, at any rate, before the close of the eleventh century. The Keep and Observatory Tower were probably built, the upper floor of the gateways added, and the curtain raised and completed, in the reign of Stephen, who granted, with the castle and city of Lincoln, to Gernons Earl of Chester, licence to fortify a tower in the castle, and to hold it until

he recovered his own castle of Tickhill, and even then, when he surrendered Lincoln, he was to retain his own tower, which his mother, Countess Lucia, had fortified, in the castle, of which also he was to retain the hereditary constableness. As the Keep was the only part of the castle which could be held independently of the rest, it must be to it that the charter relates. It is curious that Tickhill should also have a mound and polygonal keep.

As to the later works, Cobbe Hall, and the additions to the Observatory Tower and the eastern gateway, are probably the work of Thomas of Lancaster, Earl of Lincoln, who held the castle from 1312 to 1322. The Pipe Roll of 2nd John, A.D. 1200, records a charge of £20 by the Constable of Lincoln Castle for the repairs of the New Tower, probably the Keep.

The additions directed by the Conqueror to the defences of the hill, already strong by nature and by art, rendered Lincoln, under the Norman dynasty, even a more important city than it had been under the earlier governments. Its castle was the almost impregnable fortress held by or for the sovereign, of a very important division of England; but it was a division strong in its rivers and marshy ground, in its English and thoroughly disaffected feeling, and open to the visits of the Danes, no longer as enemies, but as allies to the cause of the people. Its position, dominating the whole shire, challenged comparison with Belvoir, which received a similar accession of strength, and Nottingham, on the brow of which a rectangular keep of the first class was then in progress; but what confirmed its central authority, and placed it far above any castled eminence of the counties of the Midland, was the recognition of the hill as the centre of an important bishopric, and the foundation by Remigius of the stately pile to which many succeeding centuries have added beauty and grandeur.

The castle long remained a part of the demesne of the Crown, but was administered by constables, whose office was, at times, regarded as hereditary, and, on one very important occasion, was held by a lady. Always a strong position, it became especially valuable upon the death of Henry I., when the long civil war broke out between his daughter and his nephew, and by one party or the other all existing castles were strengthened, and an immense



number of new ones built. In such a state of anarchy a castle became a necessary of life, and the bishops vied with, and even surpassed, the lay barons in their examples of military architecture. Sherborne, Malmesbury, and the strong and magnificent Devizes, were the work of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, as were Newark and Sleaford of his nephew, Alexander of Lincoln; and the castle of Ely, of Giles, another nephew, and prelate of that see. Durham, also, was held by its bishop, and the Close of Lichfield strongly entrenched.

Of the lay adherents of Matilda, Robert Earl of Gloucester, her wise and faithful brother, built the castles of Cardiff, Bristol, and Gloucester; Fitz-Alan held Shrewsbury; D'Albini, Arundel; Talbot, Hereford; Paganel, Ludlow; Brian Fitz-Count, Wallingford; D'Oyley, Oxford; Robert of Lincoln, Wareham; Mohun, Dunster; Lovel, Castle Cary; Mandeville, Walden and Plessis; and Fitz-John, Melton. Dover, much strengthened by Maminot, was surrendered to the queen. It is curious that of all these castles, six only, Sherborne, Bristol, Ludlow, Walden, and Dover, with Hedingham, held by De Vere for Stephen, are certainly known to have had square keeps; of the others, seven are doubtful, but thirteen had shell keeps upon mounds.

Among those who at first adhered to the cause of Stephen were the two half-brothers, William de Roumare and Ranulph Earl of Chester, who had hereditary claims upon a large Lincolnshire property, and, of some sort, upon the castle of Lincoln. These, as regarded the castle, were exercised mainly by the Earl of Chester, the younger, but, in England at least, the most powerful of the two.

Their claims dated from a period before the Conquest, and were no doubt connected with the ownership of the English fortress. Aelgar Earl of Mercia, son of Earl Leofric, and lord of many Lincolnshire lordships, was father of the well-known Earls Edwyne and Morker, and of Ealdgyth, widow of Gryffydd of Wales, and afterwards of Harold, and of Lucia, or Lucy, the eventual heiress of the family, and as such claiming not only the Lincolnshire lands but, as it seems, the hereditary constableness of the castle. Mr. Nichols, in a very valuable paper upon the earls of Lincoln, has shown that Lucy married Ivo Taillebois, one of the Conqueror's barons, a hero both of history

and romance, and, in right of his wife, a great landowner in Lincolnshire. Her name occurs in his charter in 1085 concerning the church of Spalding. Ivo died in 1114, and their daughter, another Lucy, an heiress or co-heiress, and who claimed the constablership of Lincoln Castle, and fortified one of its towers, married first, Roger de Roumare, and second, Ranulph de Briquesard, called Le Meschines or the younger, Earl of Chester, who died 1129. By each she had a son. (1) William de Roumare, afterwards Earl of Lincoln; and (2) Ranulph, called Gernons, Earl of Chester. These two half-brothers, unstable and greedy politicians and soldiers, played considerable parts in the war of the succession, and had much to say to Lincoln Castle.

Early in the struggle in 1140, Stephen acknowledged the claim of De Roumare, and created him one of his earls, called in derision "pseudo-comites," because they had not the usual third penny from a county. Notwithstanding this favour, however, the brothers, a few days or weeks afterwards took the castle of Lincoln by surprise, turned out the royal soldiers, and held it for Matilda. Stephen, highly incensed, marched at once to Lincoln, and, supported by the citizens, laid siege to the castle from the west front, that next the city, but on which the ground was less steep than within the city itself. Earl Ranulph, on this, escaped from the place, leaving it, with his wife and children, in charge of De Roumare, while he went to persuade his brother-in-law, Robert Earl of Gloucester, to come to their rescue. Robert accordingly led a force of 10,000 men in that direction, and the two earls, fording or swimming the Trent and the marsh lands on its margin, were met by the king in person. The result was the Battle or "Joust of Lincoln," fought on the 2nd of February, 1141, in which Stephen was taken, to be exchanged a short time afterwards for Earl Robert. Mr. Nichols has pointed out that a certain Gilbert de Gant, a young Lincolnshire noble, being taken in the battle, was married by the Earl of Chester to his niece Rohesia, and was also created Earl of Lincoln, which title he retained till his death, in 1156. Mr. Nichols suggests that Rohesia was probably a sister's daughter, and a co-heiress of Lucy Taillebois the first, and therefore a co-heir of Earl Aelgar.

William de Roumare left a son, who died before him, and the grandson, though holding a large Lincolnshire estate, and in rank an earl, never assumed the title of Lincoln. He died childless, 1198, and the title of Lincoln seems to have been dropped for a time, Alice, Earl Gilbert's daughter and heiress, being styled only "Countess Alice, daughter of Earl Gilbert."

In 1144, also at Christmas, Earl Ranulph was a second time besieged in Lincoln Castle by King Stephen, and also without success; but two years later, he, being at the king's court, was made prisoner, and had to give up the castle as his ransom. Once fairly in possession of it, Stephen caused himself to be crowned at Lincoln.

In 1147 their positions were reversed, and the city was attacked by the earl, but without success, and in 1151 he became a second time Stephen's prisoner, and so continued a few months, until at the pacification of Wallingford, in 1151, he was set free, included in the general amnesty, and received from Stephen the grant of the city and castle already noticed, to be held until Tickhill should be restored to him.

During the reign of Henry II. the Crown recovered much of its power, and Lincoln Castle seems to have been dissociated from the earldom, although the Earl of Chester preserved a hold upon it. Richard de Hay held the constablership in fee, and it descended to his daughter and heiress, Nicholaa, who married Gerald de Camville, who received from Richard I. the custody of the castle and the farm of the revenues of the county. Gerard, however, was a partizan of Prince John, and stood a siege in the castle from Longchamp, chancellor to the absent Richard. The castle was relieved by John, but Gerard lost his office and farm in 1194, until John became king. His widow, Nicholaa, held the castle for the king against the insurgent lords. After the war, King John visited Lincoln, and Nicholaa, then of great age, received him at the east gate of the castle, and offered him the keys, desiring to be relieved on account of her age. John gracefully requested her to retain the keys, and she continued in command through the reign of John, and into that of Henry his son. Nicholaa was sheriff of the county, and a very remarkable person. In her latter days she had an assistant assigned to

her, and a manor to support the charges of her office. She finally retired, and died in 1231.

In 1216, towards the close of John's reign, Gilbert de Gant, nephew to the former Earl of Lincoln of the same name, condescended to accept the titular rank at the hands of the invading French Prince Louis, and took the city, but not the castle. He fought and was taken at the "Fair of Lincoln," in May, 1217, by Ranulph de Blondville Earl of Chester, a man of small stature but a great soldier, who added the title of Lincoln to that of Chester four days after the battle, and held it until he resigned it to his sister, Hawise de Quincy, in 1232. The actual relief introduced into the castle before the battle was led by the notorious Fulk de Breauté.

The descent of the constablenesship of the castle is at this point rather obscure. It seems, probably during the minority of De Camville's daughter and heiress, Idonea, to have been administered successively by Philip de Lascelles, Walter Evermue, and, in 1224, by William de Longespée Earl of Salisbury, probably as having married Idonea, daughter and heiress of Gerard de Camville. Whether their son William, who died 1257, held it is uncertain, but whatever rights he had were united to those of the Earls of Lincoln by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Margaret Longespée, to Henry de Lacy. Henry was descended from Hawise de Quincy, whose daughter Margaret carried the earldom to her husband John de Lacy, who died 1240. Their son, Edmond, did not live to inherit, but his son, Henry de Lacy, was Earl of Lincoln, and by his marriage with Margaret Longespée, earl also of Salisbury. In the Escheat Roll, 4th Edward II., he is entered as constable of the castle of Lincoln.

Alice, the daughter and heiress of Henry de Lacy, married Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and, in her right, of Lincoln, grandson of Henry III., and thus both the constablenesship and the fee of the castle became absorbed in the Duchy of Lancaster, and so in the Crown. During the wars of Charles and the Parliament, the castle was held as a military post for the king. In 1644 it fell, with the city, into the hands of the Parliament, and finally, in 1832, was sold to the county.

The Pipe and Close Rolls contain many entries in the

reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III., relating to the castle, sometimes for repairs, sometimes for manacles for prisoners, sometimes for sustentation of soldiers. There are orders for storing corn, for "*balistæ ad strumum*" and "*ad turnum*," the former worked by hand, the latter by a winch. In 1225, we read of repairs to the gate of the castle, to the "*Tour de Luce*," and to the barbican. Even in Domesday, we have *Waldin*, *ingeniator*; *Heppo*, *balistarius*; and *Ody*, *arbalistarius*.

## RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN ROME.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

DURING the winter of 1875-6 the Government works of excavation were suspended for some months, in consequence of the great expense caused by the inundation in the Colosseum ; but in the spring of 1876 they were resumed, and the works in the Via Sacra, which had been suspended, were continued for a time under the direction of Signor Fiorelli, and the whole of the space in front of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina was cleared out, bringing to light the remains of the steps recorded by Palladio as being there, and also showing the pavement of the old Via Sacra at the bottom of them. This clearly shows that it was continued along the western side of the Forum, *under* the existing road, but nearly 20 ft. below it, and that it passed under the arch of Septimius Severus. The paved street down the middle of the Forum must therefore be the Via Nova of the time of Augustus, which came down from the Porta Romana at the south-west corner of the summit of the Palatine, at first upon steps and then in a zigzag road ; part of the pavement of the time of the Empire at the top, near the gate, was visible in 1870, but was destroyed by Signor Rosa, in the expectation of finding earlier work under it, though nothing of any importance was found ; a small part of the pavement at the bottom also remained behind the *podium* of the temple of Vesta when first excavated in 1874, but that is not now visible.

The platform of the Basilica Julia, of the time of Augustus, on the western side of the Forum, extends from the temple of Saturn in the north, near the Tabularium, to the celebrated three columns at the south, which are therefore identified by the words of Augustus himself with the temple of Castor and Pollux. At the north end of this platform are old walls and arches of travertine, of the time of Julius Cæsar, passing from west to east in the direction which

would cross over the platform of Augustus, exactly agreeing also with the words in his will, commonly called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Signor Rosa has also inserted upon this platform a number of brick bases, cutting through the pavement of the third century to insert them, because he thought this must have been the original plan.

On the eastern side of the Forum, near the column of Phocas, are the two marble screen-walls, with fine sculpture of the time of Trajan and Hadrian, which commemorate the great donation of those emperors to the Roman people of the whole of their public debt to the State. These walls stand in the Comitium, towards the middle of which is the base of an equestrian statue of the fourth century, probably that of Constantine. Further to the south and at the south-east corner of the Forum are remains of the Rostrum and Temple of Julius Cæsar in a line with that of Castor, and between them are remains of the fountain of Juturna, on the spot where the miraculous horsemen watered their horses, according to the legend.

Down the centre of the Forum, by the side of the ancient street, are six brick structures, about 10 ft. high, and not much more than that square, in each of which there is a doorway. These are called by Signor Rosa the bases of gigantic columns, but they are all hollow, and such a column would go through instantly ; they were probably for wine-shops, and the columns were on the line going from east to west, now occupied by the modern road, and not from north to south ; a fragment of a gigantic column is still lying there under the road, which is supported by a brick vault.

In continuing the line of the Via Nazionale, where it cuts off a corner of the Quirinal Hill, at a great depth, in order to avoid the steep ascent and descent, the workmen have cut through some building of the second century of considerable importance, apparently either thermæ or some great Villa, which occupied the ground before the Thermæ of Constantine were made there. This new road is here cut down at least 20 ft. below the present level of the soil ; a little further to the south an additional storey has been introduced under the villa of the family of Antonelli ; and there a doorway, now in the cellars of that house, is built of stones of the time of the kings, and supposed to have been the Porta Fontinalis ; but if so, it has evidently been rebuilt of the old

materials, the jambs of the doorway are of a different kind of tufa from the arch, and a brick arch of the time of Constantine has been built over it to support the weight of the house above. The remains of a Villa (?) or Thermæ (?) of the second century, found on the summit of the hill, are at a considerably higher level than that doorway. The walls of this villa are of the time of Hadrian; and there seemed to have been a street, with shops, and staircases to the houses above. At the end of April, and in the first week in May, a very remarkable mosaic was found against the wall of a cliff right across the line of the new road, and at such a level as made it necessary to cut through it. Here was a mosaic picture of the second century against a cliff, with narrow cascades of white marble at intervals, the effect of which when the water was running over them must have been very good; there is nothing quite like it at Pompeii, or anywhere else that is known at present. What is most singular is that there seems to be no history of any such villa or thermæ on this site before the time of Constantine, and this work is not of his time, though situated on the site of part of his Thermæ, through which the modern road will cut. Whatever this large building was, it has been partially destroyed when the great Thermæ of Constantine were built. Nothing very distinct has been made out at present; some think they were merely ornamental constructions in the garden of a Villa; but a lofty wall against a cliff cased with marble, and cascades at intervals, and with niches for statues, seems of more importance than this. As it is destroyed almost as fast as it is brought to light it is difficult to see what it was. Some say there was an *ambularum* or avenue between this villa and a nymphæum.

The face of the wall is ornamented with red and yellow pumice stone, and the niches with shells, as at Pompeii. Candelabra are represented in mosaic, and these divide the compartments, and on each side of them the cascade of white marble, cut into steps to give brilliancy to the water; there are also festoons of the vine in ribbons hanging from the capitals. The mosaic picture represents cars drawn by winged figures of victory and small genii drawn by hippopotami. Under these are views of gardens, with flowers of different kinds. The name of T. AVIDIUS QUIETVS has been found on a metal pipe, and the same name has been found



in the excavations in the *Exquilæ* near the church of S. Antonio the abbot, on bronze ornaments. He appears to have been a patron of the fine arts, as ornamental works of art have been found in his garden and baths—statues of Mars, Hermes, and busts, and two fountains in marble ornamented with bas-reliefs; all works of art found here are placed in the new museum on the Capitoline Hill. Some portions of this building are to be preserved, with the approbation of Prince Rospigliosi, the proprietor of the palace to which they have hitherto belonged. The other parts are as carefully removed as is found practicable.

In making the drains and foundations of houses for the new city, a great number of works of ancient art were continually found, and remains of several buildings; these are, for the most part, destroyed very soon, but a record of them and drawings are preserved by the municipality, and published in their "*Bulletino Archeologico*." In the "*Exquilæ*," the old burial-ground of the time of the Republic, and afterwards public gardens, an enormous work has been done by a speculating building company; the earth has been all carried away from a space of at least half a mile square to a depth *below* what it was in the time of the Empire. This level space of ground had long been market gardens, and the price of vegetables has thus been doubled in Rome by the demolition of these gardens, which was not at all necessary. It extends from the arch of Gallienus, near the great church of S. Maria Maggiore, to near the Porta Maggiore and from the great *agger* of Servius Tullius (now almost all carried away) to the outer wall of Rome. In this space stands the fine building called *Minerva Medica*, which has also been cleared out to the original level. Between this and the Porta Maggiore, a very remarkable tomb has been found, the original part of which is of the time of Sylla, but it has been added to in the time of Hadrian. It is proved by numerous inscriptions to be the tomb of Statilius Taurus (who built the first stone amphitheatre in the time of Sylla) for his family and his freedmen and descendants. One of the freedmen is mentioned as having been employed in the amphitheatre. The lower part of the tomb is full of *columbaria*, or pigeon-holes to receive the cinerary urns, according to the fashion of that time, and the wall between these *columbaria* is painted with a series of small fresco pictures, beautifully exe-

cuted in the best style of art, representing the old legendary history of Rome and fitting more closely the *Æneid* of Virgil than to any other author. These paintings must have been executed when Virgil himself was living, as he died B.C. 19, and the amphitheatre was opened B.C. 30, eleven years before his death.

In the month of June, at the *Mons Justitiæ*, near the railway station, two more parts of the great *agger* of Servius Tullius were carried away; here as in several other parts, there had evidently been a wall on each side of the *agger*, or great bank of earth. We know that there was also a wide and deep *fosse* on each side of it, doubtless because the earth was thrown up from these trenches, and not brought from a distance; a great bank of earth 50 feet high, and at least 50 feet wide at the base, faced by a wall 12 feet thick, and in which each stone was four feet long, two feet wide and deep, and a ton in weight, would be no mean defence, even now, against modern artillery. It is remarkable that the most modern inventions in the art of defence are bringing us back to the most ancient.

We have seen also that a row of houses had been built upon, against, and into, this great bank on the inner side in the first century of the Empire, and another row on the outer side in the time of King Theodoric, when there was a temporary revival in Rome. Photographs have been taken of houses of both these periods. In some of the houses of the first century fresco paintings have been found, chiefly of Pagan subjects, but a Christian chapel was also now brought to light built on the plan of the Greek cross, with a cupola in the centre, but all dug out in the earth of the *agger*, not visible externally. In this have been found fresco paintings of figures of Christ and the Apostles, and Angels fishing; also, in another part, a farm. All these paintings have been detached from the wall by Signor Principi, and will be preserved in one of the museums. But the building<sup>1</sup> has been

<sup>1</sup> I was refused permission to have a plan and section, drawings and photographs of this remarkable chapel, because the Municipality intend to publish it themselves in their "Bulletino Archeologico." There can be little doubt that this chapel, dug out in the great *agger* or bank, was made by some wealthy Christian family in the third century, for concealment in time of persecution. The

plan of the Greek cross shows that they followed the Greek Rite, and that the Roman deviation from it was not introduced until after the time of Constantine. As some members of the Municipality are bigoted Romanists, the Anglo-Catholics will watch with curiosity whether they publish the whole truth in this instance.

destroyed by the Municipality during the summer of 1876, to make more room for carriages in front of the railway station.

In carrying on the Via Nazionale, near the wall with paintings and mosaics before mentioned, and near the south-west corner of the Quirinal Hill, they have found the pavement of an old street between brick walls, and with a high flight of steps of travertine stone, doubtless connected with the *Thermæ* before mentioned.

On the Via Latina, between two and three miles from Rome, just beyond the well-known painted tombs, considerable excavations have been made by Signori Silvestrelli and Höfer; they found some of the old pavement of the road, with tombs on each side of it, in which were numerous inscriptions. These will be published shortly.

A little further on they have also found remains of *thermæ*, and a sort of cave wine-shop, with the amphoræ for the wine; this cave has a ceiling formed of tiles, with terra-cotta pipes or channels either for water or wine. About a quarter of a mile further on, and not far from the well-known Osteria del Tavolata and the Tor Fiscale, by the side of the grand arcade of the aqueducts, on a farm belonging to Prince Torlonia, they have also made fresh excavations, and have found two sarcophagi and a head of Titus. This is also on the Via Latina.

On the Via Salaria, about a mile from Rome, in the vineyard where Garibaldi was residing last winter, near the catacomb of Priscilla, a long passage cut in the tufa rock has been found, and water seems to have flown through this into a deep well; it was a branch of an aqueduct, probably the *Virgo*, of which another part was found and published in my photographs in 1872, half filled up with the deposit of clay left by the water which came from the muddy swamp called the fields of Lucullus.

The very curious fresco pictures in the tomb of Statilius Taurus have now been detached from the wall, and will be placed in the museum of the Municipality in the Capitol. Bad copies of them had previously been placed there.

## ON CERTAIN SEPULCHRAL CROSS-LEGGED EFFIGIES OF CIVILIANS.

By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM, Esq.

THE numerous cross-legged effigies on sepulchral monuments, mostly belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to be found in our churches, have very commonly been attributed or assigned to Crusaders or Knights Templars. There is, however, a want of early evidence to establish either fact, and though Gough, in the introduction to his costly work on sepulchral monuments, moots the question as to the origin of cross-legged effigies, he arrives at no definite conclusion. It was to him, as it still is, and is likely to remain, a *verata quæstio*.

The Crusades commenced at the close of the eleventh century (*circa* A.D. 1095), and ceased at the close of the thirteenth century. The order of the Knights Templars, instituted A.D. 1118, was suppressed by Pope Clement V., A.D. 1309, and finally abolished, A.D. 1312; and the majority of cross-legged effigies are of a period subsequent to the cessation of the Crusades, and to the abolition of the Order of Knights Templars. Even the effigies of knights in the Temple Church, London, are variously represented, some with the legs straight, and some with the legs crossed. None of these, however, can be said to be of earlier date than the reigns of John or Henry III., the commencement of the thirteenth century.

Even the curious wooden effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, said to commemorate Robert Duke of Gloucester, who died A.D. 1134, and who took a part in the first Crusade, A.D. 1096, and which effigy is perhaps the earliest we have in a cross-legged attitude, is of a date long subsequent to his death, and we can hardly assign to it a period earlier than the commencement of the thirteenth century, the reign of John, or the early part of the reign of Henry III.

Was there then no religious signification attached to the

cross-legged attitude, as represented in sepulchral effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? I think there was, but as I have not found in any mediæval writer any allusion to or explanation of this custom, I can only give a conjectural opinion.

Some persons were buried with their legs crossed, as their remains have been so found. In the reparation, some years ago, of Hereford Cathedral, a skeleton was found in a stone coffin with the legs crossed. A skeleton in a similar position was also discovered a few years ago in Brougham Church, Westmoreland.

In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries a community existed in this country called the *Cruce signati*, or *Fratres crucis*, consisting of those who took upon themselves the sign of the cross, and who either went to the Crusades, or on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or of those who in lieu thereof contributed of their goods towards those objects.

Spelman in his Glossary defines the terms "Cruciferi, Crucigeri, Crucesignati—Sunt qui militiam Terræ sanctæ profitentes, crucem professionis symbolum, vesti in humero dextro appingebant. Sic olim noti, qui prædicata cruce, militaturos se voverant Hierosolymis." Whence then the origin of the *Cruce signati*.

When the Council of Clermont, held A.D. 1095, and presided over by Pope Urban II., came to a conclusion, the Pope addressed those about him, enjoining them to take up the cross and join in the expedition, the first Crusade, to the Holy Land. From his sermon or discourse, as given by Roger of Wendover, I give in a translated form the following passage:—"Gird yourselves then for the battle, my brave warriors, for a memorable expedition against the enemies of the Cross. Let the sign of the Cross decorate your shoulders, in token that you will aid to propagate Christianity; let your outward ardour declare your inward faith."

Of the same discourse or sermon William of Malmesbury treats:—"Let such as are going to fight for Christianity put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may outwardly demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith, enjoying by the gift of God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes."

Again, Roger of Wendover, sub A.D. 1097, speaks of Robert Duke of Normandy, whose cross-legged effigy in Gloucester Cathedral was executed not earlier than near a century after his death, as joining in the first Crusade. "Hoc denique tempore Robertus Dux Normanniæ, cruce signatus, iter Hierosolymitarum, omnium perigrinorum novissimus arripiens, posuit Normanniam in vadimonium fratri suo Regi Willielmo, accepit ab eo decies mille libris argenti." "About the same time Robert Duke of Normandy took the sign of the Cross, and set out, last of all the pilgrims, for Jerusalem, having first placed Normandy in pledge to his brother, King William, for ten thousand marks of silver."

Here then we have one, a Crusader, designated by Roger of Wendover as *Cruce signatus*, whose sepulchral effigy, executed long after his death, is fashioned with the legs crossed.

Matthew Paris, in his "Additamenta," sub anno 1247, briefly alludes to the *Cruce signati*: "Literæ generales directæ per singulos Episcopatus, super collectione decimarum et redemptionem votorum et cruce signatorum et aliorum."

We do not find on the surcoat of any cross-legged effigy any mark or sign of the cross.

In the year 1312 Greenfield Archbishop of York issued an injunction against certain persons, who, in the habit of religious mendicants, entered his diocese and province, of whose state, condition, and orders he had no certain knowledge, they pretending that they were of the order of Brethren of the Cross. *Se de ordine fratrum de cruce prætendentes.*

In certain synodical constitutions of Alexander de Stavenby, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, A.D. 1237, one is headed "*Sequitur de Cruce signatis.*" In this the bishop enjoins all the *Cruce signati* within his diocese, under an anathema, to take their journey without delay to perform their proper vows, nor was any one spared, or the vow of *either sex* relaxed, except such as laboured under manifest infirmity, or was such a valetudinarian that it was not doubtful that he was unable to execute his vow, and then such were, according to their means, to give of their goods for the redemption of their vows. Thus we see the *Cruce signati* were not confined to the one sex, or to those of a pure military order.

And this may be explanatory of the fact why we sometimes, though very rarely, meet with sepulchral effigies of civilians, in lay, not in military costume, represented with the legs crossed. Of these, prior to the seventeenth century I know but of four, all of them of the fourteenth century, and, as far as I am able to judge, they are all about the middle of that century. They are to be found in the churches of Birkin, Yorkshire; of Youlgrave, Derbyshire; of Thurlaston, Leicestershire; and of Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

In Birkin church, Yorkshire, a church not easily accessible, is the cross-legged effigy of a civilian, most difficult to examine, inasmuch as it lies beneath a sepulchral arch in the north wall of the nave, and the front of the arch is obscured by pew work, so that the effigy can only be seen from above by letting down a light. My friend, Mr. Albert Hartshorne, to whom I communicated the existence of this effigy, whilst he was staying in Yorkshire, went over to Birkin, and under extreme difficulties made a drawing of this effigy, of which drawing he was kind enough to send me a tracing. This effigy represents the person commemorated as bareheaded; the hair on each side the face is curled in the fashion of the period, *i. e.*, of the fourteenth century. The hands, upraised on the breast, hold a heart. The close fitting and buttoned sleeves of the tunic, *manicæ botonatæ*, are visible, as is also a portion of the skirt of the tunic, reaching to below the knees. Over the tunic appears a loose supertunic with short and wide sleeves. This is open in front at the skirt, which reach to the calves of the legs. The left leg crosses the right; the feet rest against a dog. The sepulchral arch beneath which this effigy reposes is plain, with a double hollow architrave moulding.

In Thurlaston church, Leicestershire, amongst other interesting effigies, is the recumbent sepulchral effigy of a civilian, lying beneath a sepulchral ogee-shaped arch in the north wall of a chantry chapel. This effigy, from the position it occupies, is probably commemorative of the founder of the chantry. From the nature of the material out of which it is sculptured, a kind of blue lias, it is not so perfect as could be desired. It represents a frankleyn or squire in his ordinary lay attire, bareheaded, with a fillet round the forehead, clad in a loose tunic, belted round the



From Edge & Co. Litho. 56 Old Jewry, & Westminster.

EFFIGY IN BIRKIN CHURCH.





waist and extending to the knees. The lower portions of the legs are gone, but the cross-legged attitude is very apparent. It is probably commemorative of one of the Turville family.

In Youlgrave church, Derbyshire, is an interesting recumbent cross-legged effigy of a civilian. This was first brought to my notice by an engraving of it in the seventh volume of the "Journal of the Archaeological Association." It is there described as "a cross-legged effigy of the *twelfth* century, representing a male personage attired in the quilted gambeson of that period, and holding in his hand a human heart, as in other examples of the time."

As, from the representation of the effigy, supposing it to be fairly correct, I formed a different opinion both as to the age and attire of the effigy to that as above given, I made a journey in the summer of 1874 to Youlgrave for the purpose of a personal examination. I found the engraved representation in the "Journal of the Archaeological Association" to be fairly correct; the description there given not so. For the effigy is that of a civilian, of about the middle of the fourteenth century; the head is bare, the neck is also bare, with the exception of a chin cloth; the hair on each side of the face is curly. The attire appears to consist of a supertunic, with wide and loose sleeves reaching to the elbows, belted about the loins, and descending in loose folds to a little below the knees. On the left side, attached to a belt crossing transversely from right to left, is a short hunting sword. The close-fitting sleeves of the tunic, from the elbows to the wrists, appear from beneath the supertunic, and the hands hold between them that frequent emblem, a heart—in allusion to that scriptural passage, "I will lift up my heart with my hands to thee in the heavens." The legs are crossed, the right leg over the left, and rest on some animal, too mutilated to be distinguishable. To the heels spurs and spur leathers are attached. The head reposes on a lozenge-shaped cushion, placed on a square cushion beneath. There are no indications of body armour on the effigy, and, if I may hazard a conjecture, I should say it is commemorative of a forester or verderer, in his hunting habit, with the exception of the *capucium* or hood.

On a window sill in the south aisle of Much Marcle church, Herefordshire, not its original position, is placed the recum-

bent wooden effigy of a civilian, said to have been brought from some other church. The person here commemorated is represented as bareheaded, with curly locks on each side the face, with moustache and beard. He is attired in a close-fitting tunic or cote, hardly reaching to the knees, with close-fitting sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists—*tunica botonata cum manicis botonatis*. Round the loins is a plain girdle buckled in front, with the strap end of the girdle hanging down; to this girdle a small gipciere or purse is buckled. The caputium, or hood, is worn about the neck and front of the breast, but is not drawn over the head. The legs are crossed, the right leg over the left; the shoes are pointed. A portion of the right foot is gone. The feet rest against a lion, the tail of which curls round the left foot. The head reposes on a square cushion; the neck is bare. This effigy is 6 ft. 4 ins. in length<sup>1</sup> from the crown of the head to the points of the feet; the length of the tunic is little more than 5 ft., and beneath it appears an inner vest. This effigy is evidently of the fourteenth century, to the middle of which period, *circa* A.D. 1350, I would assign it.

There are, I believe, some few effigies of ladies of the fourteenth century, represented in a cross-legged attitude, but these I have not met with. Besides the Order of Knights Templars, there was another well-known Order, that of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who appear to have been first established in England at the commencement of the twelfth century, *circa*, A.D. 1100. In 1540 this Order was suppressed in this country. In 1557 this Order was re-established by Queen Mary, and Sir Thomas Tresham made Lord Prior. In 1558, the Order in this country was finally abolished by Queen Elizabeth. The peculiar habit assigned to it by Pope Honorius III. (A.D. 1216—1297), consisted of a long black tunic or mantle worn over the armour, with a white cross flory on the breast. I have met with two effigies in this country, the one of which I conjecture to be, the other is well authenticated as, that of a Knight Hospitaller of St. John.

<sup>1</sup> I have often found wooden recumbent effigies much elongated, the proportions of the body not being strictly correct. This I attribute to the material

out of which they were carved, and the difficulty of obtaining blocks of wood of sufficient width to work out these effigies in their proper dimensions.





EFFIGY IN LOVERSEAL CHURCH.



Illustrated by G. C. Lister. No. 118. Copy of the original.

EFFIGY IN RUSHTON CHURCH.



The first is a recumbent effigy in a chantry chapel, lying southward of the chancel in Loverseal church, South Yorkshire. It is that of a man who appears clad in a supertunic or surcoat, which reaches to the calves of the legs, and is encircled round the waist by a broad girdle, the right sleeve of this being somewhat loose, reaches to the elbow, and hangs down, disclosing the close-fitting sleeve of the tunic or inner vest, buttoned to the wrist. On the head, and in front of the breast, is worn the caputium or hood, partially drawn over the head; the hair appears with the usual flowing and graceful locks, in the fashion prevalent in the fourteenth century, and the head reposes on a double cushion. A heater-shaped shield, one foot nine inches in length, is attached to the left side by a narrow guige or belt, crossing diagonally over the right shoulder, and the first dexter quarter of the shield is charged with a cross flory. On the left side a sword is worn. No trace of defensive or body armour appears; the attire simply consists of *tunica et supertunica cum caputio*. The only weapons of a warlike character being the sword and shield. I should assign this effigy to about the middle of the fourteenth century.

But the undoubted effigy we possess of a Knight Hospitaller is that in Rushton church, Northamptonshire, of Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight, and Prior of the Order in this country, who died A.D. 1559. He is represented bareheaded, with a moustache and beard, habited in a long, loose gown or robe, with full sleeves, from beneath which appear vambraces of plate armour, indicative that body armour was worn beneath the robe; on the feet are broad-toed solerets. The sword is suspended from a buckled belt, crossing diagonally from right to left; the hands, which are bare, are raised on the breast, as in prayer; the legs are straight. In front of the gown, on the breast, appears the cross flory.<sup>2</sup>

In mediæval sepulchral effigies we do not often meet with the cross-legged attitude after about the middle of the fourteenth century. In the latter part of the sixteenth, and in the seventeenth centuries, we have a few cross-legged effigies, both in military and civilian costume, thus fashioned,

<sup>2</sup> An accurate representation of this effigy appears in Mr. Albert Hartshorne's exhaustive work on the recumbent effigies

in Northamptonshire, a work which for accuracy of detail is, I need hardly say, no mean boon to archaeologists.



I think, not of symbolical import, but of fanciful design—mere conceits of the sculptors.

The sepulchral effigy in Exeter cathedral of Sir Peter Carew, A.D. 1580—1589, represents him in a recumbent position, bareheaded, with a moustache and beard. Such of his body-armour as is visible consists of the breastplate, cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets. Round the loins drapery is disposed. On his left he has a heater-shaped shield. He appears in the act of sheathing or drawing his sword; his legs are crossed, and his feet rest against a lion. The composition is altogether fanciful.

In Brading church, Isle of Wight, are two effigies in armour, said to be carved out of solid elm wood. One of these appears to be a diminutive of the other. They are represented cross-legged, and are said to be commemorative of two of the Oglander family. I have no notes of these effigies, and it is upwards of fifty years since I saw them. As far as my recollection will serve, they appeared to be encased in armour of the early half of the seventeenth century, *temp.* Charles I.

In Great Mitton church, Lancashire, in a north chapel, on a high tomb, are the recumbent marble effigies of Richard Shirburn and Elizabeth his wife. He appears to have died in 1689; she in 1699. He is represented bareheaded, with flowing locks, a falling cravat about his neck, a long single-breasted coat, reaching nearly to the knees, and buttoned all the way down, with stockings, and high-heeled, square-toed shoes, buckled on the insteps. The left leg is crossed over the right. A loose robe or gown is worn over the coat, and tied loosely round the waist by a sash. Ruffles are worn round the wrists, and the right hand is placed on the breast. Round the head of the lady is a loosely-tied kerchief, and she wears a bodiced gown with full skirts. Both effigies recline on mats.

An effigy in similar costume represents Richard Shirburn, son of the above, who died in 1690. His right leg crosses over the left. There is another effigy of the same family and of the same period, with falling cravat and loose gown, tied with a sash. The left leg crosses over the right.

These effigies and tombs were sculptured and finished in 1699, by William Stanton, lapidary, who lived near St. Andrew's church, in Holborn, at the cost of 253*l.* They

are the latest of the cross-legged effigies I have met with, and the costume simply civilian, that of the gentry of this country in the latter part of the reign of William III.

There are, I believe many effigies still existing in the churches of this country deserving of minute examination, which have hitherto been neglected, or misdescribed from a want of knowledge of appreciation, and to such greater attention should be directed.

## ANCIENT EARTHWORKS IN EPPING FOREST.

By B. H. COWPER, Esq.

THE object of these notes is to record a few facts and a few observations respecting certain antiquarian remains in Epping Forest, belonging to a remote period of our history. The remains in question have in part continued wholly unnoticed until quite recently, and in part have not received the attention their importance calls for. They comprise two earthworks, which form encampments, and certain banks between the camps. For the sake of brevity, this paper will summarily indicate what the writer has seen rather than what he has read. The discussion of the simple facts will be left to better archæologists than the writer professes to be.

In a paper read before the Royal Archaeological Institute in November, 1875, I gave a cursory account of the circumstances under which I discovered, in 1872, the existence of an unregistered earthwork in Epping Forest, to the north-west of Loughton, and to the east of the Epping road. The same paper contained a general description of the said earthwork. Since then the notes have been published in the Transactions of the Institute, along with a plan from a survey executed by W. D'Oyley, Esq., of Loughton, who very cheerfully undertook that task. Subsequent examinations of the locality have brought to light a few new and interesting facts.

The Loughton camp consists of an irregular circle, comprising, wherever practicable, an outer trench and an inner embankment, formed of the materials from the trench. This inclosure is nearly 800 yards in its outer circumference, and it occupies the headland of an elevated plateau, overlooking a deep valley on the south,<sup>1</sup> and a smaller branch valley on

<sup>1</sup> The deep valley on the south of the camp seems to have been called Debden, as a flat open morass in it, which is pro-

bably the site of an ancient lake, is known as Debden Slade. The name Debden also occurs on the right of the road from

the west. The view on the southern side is very extensive, and is bounded by the Kentish hills beyond the Thames. High Beech lies not far away to the west.

Round the northern section of the camp there are many pits, mostly of ancient date, hidden by the forest, and apparently forming part of a general plan; they are continued to the head of the smaller western valley. There are also two large old pits in the inclosure, not far from a point on the western curve where the outwork seems to have been tumbled down the slope towards the valley below.<sup>2</sup> The face of the steep declivity on the west and south shows traces of an entrenchment and other excavations. The crest of the ridge on the other side of the western valley has also been cut so as to destroy the natural slope. The first published plan does not show this last work, and it likewise fails to indicate all the pits on the north-west, and the subordinate trenches below the brow of the camp-hill. These details have, in fact, only come to light since the last year's survey was made.

As the camp and its surroundings are overgrown and covered with vegetation in summer, the place is only open to full inspection in winter and the early spring. There is, however, always enough to be seen to show the character and general outline of these ancient remains. The vicinity on the south-west is in some maps called Turpin's cave, though no cave is there. I am unable to account for this appropriation of the famous highwayman's name. In some parts the embankment of the camp has been much dug into and injured by persons endeavouring to unearth the foxes which took possession of this lonely spot. It is worthy of notice that the camp has been so planned as to intersect a small valley which originates within the enclosure, and drains it on the south-east. During the winter, this little valley is the bed of a spring of water, so that by including it a constant water supply could be secured.

Without dwelling further upon this recent addition to the list of Essex antiquities, I observe that it lies only about two

Loughton to the Wake Arms. Debden, i.e. Deep Dene, of course means a deep valley, and Slade signifies a low-lying boggy place. As these words are not modern it may be as well to note their occurrence in this locality.

<sup>2</sup> A civil engineer who has inspected these pits is of opinion that they were intended to contain water, but they are dry now, which is not the case with some of those outside the enclosure.

miles south of Ambresbury Bank, which is a quadrangular earthwork, and also in the forest. The proximity of these two camps naturally suggested a relationship between them, and the probable existence of traces of ancient occupation in the intermediate space. The results of repeated search show that these conjectures may not be without confirmation. But at present we may proceed at once to Ambresbury Bank, and see what that is.

The pedestrian may pursue a pleasant route through one of the most romantic portions of the forest. Let us then journey northwards, across the plateau, through Little Monkwood, over a deep valley, and through Great Monkwood—names which will remind us of the venerable Abbey of Waltham on the other side of the western hill. We emerge near the keeper's lodge upon the ancient road through Loughton to Epping. It will be best not to tempt the forest again here, so we follow the road past the Wake Arms and towards Epping. Ere long we come to a road branching to the left, and leading by the old foundation known as Copped or Copt Hall, and to Waltham Holy Cross. Upon our right we see a white post, which the Corporation of London has fixed as a parish boundary, and close at hand is Ambresbury Bank.

This camp has been long known, but very much neglected, although both interesting and important as an ancient remnant.<sup>3</sup> It is quadrangular, and for that reason may be assigned to another race than that which formed the Loughton Camp. The irregular circular contour of the latter contrasts remarkably with the straighter lines and the positive angles of the former. I suppose the Ambresbury Bank to be Roman, or the result of Roman inspiration. What the other is I leave to practical archæologists to determine; but possibly the local association of Ambresbury or Amesbury with Queen Boadicea ought to be transferred to the Loughton camp. Of the name Ambresbury, I shall have a word to say before I conclude, but propose now to attempt a slight description of the place.

<sup>3</sup> There are notices of it, I believe, in some of the books which relate to the topography of Essex, such as that of Morant (*"History and Antiquities of Essex."* London, 1768). I am told that a plan of it occurs in Elizabeth Ogborne's *"Essex,"* vol. i. (London, 1814.) Am-

bresbury is also indicated in most, but not all of the maps of the region and county. The name *"Boadicea's Camp"* is sometimes given to the Ambresbury Bank, and there is a tradition or legend that the British queen met her death in the neighbourhood.

Those portions of Ambresbury Bank which are almost perfect, exhibit a deep and broad moat, with a strong inner embankment, and a slighter external one. Two of the angles point very nearly north and south. The plan is not a regular square, but an irregular quadrangle, the shorter sides being those between the north and east, the east and south, and the south and west; the remaining and longer side has an obvious outward curve. There are various entrances, and there have been, I think, two at least on every side. The southern angle is least perfect, and was probably never closed, and all the other angles are slightly rounded. At what we may term the southern angle (towards the west), the work is so arranged as to inclose part of a low-lying strip of ground adjacent to a water-course, the intention probably being to ensure a water-supply on the inside, and a ditch on the outside. The whole of the interior, and part of the exterior is more or less wooded,—densely so on the south-west and south, where an ordinary visitor will be very likely to overlook the bank, which is carried through the swamp. The entire area comprises about twelve acres, according to Mr. D'Oyley, who has been good enough to survey it, and it is as nearly as possible of the same extent as the camp at Loughton.

It is to be regretted that very recently as well as formerly, the Ambresbury Camp has been greatly disfigured by Essex Vandals, and in some parts almost obliterated by seekers for sand and other materials. The timber also has suffered considerably. But still we have a well-defined and strongly defended entrenchment. Outside the enclosure on the east the surface is irregular, but I have not explored it enough to say more than that the irregularity seems not wholly due to common gravel and sand diggers, whose doings are for the most part easily identified.

We may now refer to the common local name of this camp, which is Ambresbury or Amesbury, and is exactly identical with that of a well-known town in Wiltshire, with its neighbouring Stonehenge and Vespasian's Camp. They say that Ambresbury is named after Ambrosius Aurelius, a celebrated opposer of the Saxons. If this is right, the Epping Camp is associated with the most romantic period of our history, and may conjure up visions of Vortigern and Arthur, and Merlin, and a host of other legendary heroes.

Though tempted to enlarge on such a theme, I restrain my pen, and only ask how Ambresbury Bank came by its actual name. If Ambrosius formed it, Boadicea knew nothing of it; though if he only occupied it, she may have known it. History does not aid us, though curiously enough the name of Ambresbury in Wiltshire figures once along with that of Waltham in our national chronicles. Giraldus Cambrensis (Bk. 1, Ch. 7), and Gervase of Canterbury both tell in consecutive sentences, how Henry II. removed the monks of Waltham, and the nuns of Ambresbury, and put others in their places. This juxtaposition is curious, because Waltham is so near the Epping camp or Ambresbury Bank.<sup>4</sup>

There still remains one subject to be noticed, and that relates to what lies between the Loughton and Epping camps. Journeying southwards from Ambresbury Bank to Theydon Bois road, the ground has been so dug over for sand, &c., that any ancient work must have been obliterated. But between the Theydon road and that to Loughton I have found a few noticeable features. The first is a short straight embankment running east and west; beyond this is a second and somewhat longer bank running parallel with it. At right angles to this second, and almost touching it, is a third bank lying north and south. Still further south, where the

<sup>4</sup> The following are the actual words of Giraldus Cambrensis, who is speaking of the way in which Henry fulfilled his vow to found three monasteries in lieu of a certain pilgrimage:—"Canonicos apud Waltham, ab antiquo singulariter et Sancte Deo servientes, in conventualem communemque vitam et regulam regale potestate redegit. Moniales de Ambresbury, hoc est de Ambrosii curia, antiquitus plantatas extirpavit, et alias, id est transmarinas, de fonte Ebrardi violenter intrusit." Hereupon the editor of the London edition of 1846 has these notes:—"See Hoveden, f. 320. A.D. 1177. It is but fair to give another version of these proceedings, such as is put forth by Gervase of Canterbury, whose words are these: "King Henry being at Windsor, sent Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert, Bishop of London, Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely, to Holy Cross Church, Waltham. He had purposed to settle there regular canons, because the seculars who still remained had abandoned themselves to carnal works and unlawful pleasures instead of devoting themselves to God's service. So the dean of the

aforesaid church, whose name was Guido Ruffus, resigned his deanery into the hands of the archbishop. Then the king commanded a new church to be built there, with its offices, and some months after ordered canon regulars to take possession of the ancient church, six from Cirencester, six from Osney, four from Chichester. He sent also, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, and Roger, Bishop of Worcester, to the Abbey of Ambresbury, to eject the abbess and her nuns, convicted for incontinence (de manifesto lenocinio), and introduced in their room the religious from St. Evreux."—Twysden, X., Script. 1434. With regard to the spelling of Ambresbury as Almesbury I say nothing, as it is a philological question, whereas our business is with legends and traditions, and popular stories, and besides I have not found what may be called the Tennysonian form of the name applied to our Epping Forest Camp. It may be well to notice that the country people near Epping call their encampment, not only Ambresbury, but Amesbury—"for short," as an old habitué of the forest observed.

forest is dense and the surface irregular, after crossing a narrow valley, I have met with a ridge running east and west, overgrown with trees, and not like the others in construction. Thus far we have lighted upon four short banks, and having regard to their position and forms, may I not suggest that the three first on the north belong to Ambresbury, and that the one on the south belongs to the Loughton camp? The peculiarity of these small works is my reason or apology for attaching importance to them. If this locality is further examined, and it is impossible to do it thoroughly in the summer, perhaps something more may be discovered.

Although I have rambled over the greater part of Epping Forest in search of archæological traces I have found very few of a definite character beyond those above indicated. Those which have most excited my curiosity are in the vicinity of the Loughton works, a little to the east, and may perhaps yield certain results hereafter. At present I am not justified in speaking decidedly about them.

It will be apparent that in the foregoing notes I have not aimed at more than a brief record of what I have seen; but this may serve to stimulate to a further investigation. I may be permitted in conclusion to observe that Essex is full of early historical memories, and that the same is true of the parts of Hertfordshire which are adjacent. Britons, Romans, and Saxons were very busy in those quarters, and the district was traversed by Roman roads in various directions. One of these roads seems to have passed from Stratford northwards, very near to both the camps which form the subject of this paper. That such camps should be found in a forest is anything but strange. To whatever periods they belong, they must be classed with the more curious and venerable monuments of the county. The preservation of the forest will fortunately secure them from further perils, and they will henceforth suffer only from the slow operations of time. Being easily reached from the metropolis, to which they lie so near, they will no doubt receive from Archæologists the attention they merit.



ON A "TABULA HONESTÆ MISSIONIS" FOUND AT BATH.  
AND SOME OTHER NEGLECTED BRITANNO ROMAN IN-  
SCRIPTIONS.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.

WHEN recently writing "On some Forgotten or Neglected Roman Inscriptions found in Britain," (Arch. Journ, vol. xxxi. p. 344), I published what I then considered to be the whole of the Roman inscriptions found in this island, which had been omitted by Professor Hübner from the seventh volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," with the exception of some found on the line of the Roman Wall, which I knew would soon be published (as they have been) by Dr. Bruce, in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," Part iv. I find that in the idea I have, however, been mistaken. Several other omissions have come under my notice, by recent research into MSS., and other works, and as it has been suggested to me by some of our leading antiquaries, that a supplement to Dr. Hübner's work would not be complete without them, and also those omitted from the neighbourhood of the Wall, I propose in this paper to embody both series.

In the Appendix to vol. xviii. of the "Archæologia," p. 438, there is an account of a *Tabula honestæ missionis* found at Bath, and a facsimile of which was exhibited by Mr. Lysons to the Society of Antiquaries, December 7th, 1815. This account is very incomplete, as appears by an examination of the minutes of the Society, the entire entry in the latter reading as follows:—

"He" (Mr. Lysons) "observed that from the form of the letters nearly resembling those of the tablets found a year since at Malpas and Sydenham, now deposited in the British Museum, containing decrees of the Emperor Trajan, it is probable that this is the fragment of one of the same Emperor or of his successor. *Unfortunately the part preserved does not contain the first part of the decree, and breaks*

*off at the beginning of the name of the Proprætor in Britain. The name of one of the Consuls, Titus Artidius Celer, is preserved, but from this nothing can be ascertained as to the date, for his name not being found in the Fasti, he appears to have been one of the Consules suffecti. The Ala Proculeiana is mentioned to which the Decurio belonged to whom the decree is addressed—a name which does not occur in any of the inscriptions hitherto discovered in this country. The formal part of the decree, of which enough remains to restore the whole, differs a little from those of Trajan above mentioned, and contains the words *dimissis honestâ missione*, which are there wanting. It appears to have run thus, after enumerating the several cohorts, &c., “Qui sunt in Britannia, sub C. . . . . quinque et viginti pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data ; aut si qui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.”*

The portion of the above extract, commencing with “Unfortunately,” and ending with “in this country,” is entirely omitted from the “Archæologia.” It is by far the most important portion of the entry, and I have placed it in italics with the view of marking the area of the omission.<sup>1</sup> Except by this inscription, the ALA PROCVLEIANA is totally unknown, and forms an addition to the list of the Roman forces stationed in Britain. Dr. McCaul, in a letter to the writer, makes the suggestion, “is it the ALA HERCVLEIANA, and wrongly read by Mr. Lysons?” As to this, nothing can yet be said, for apparently both the tabula and the facsimile of it are lost. At the time its inscription was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, it was in the possession of Mr. John Cranch. Mr. Scarth, in his “Aquæ Solis,” says that it had been traced to the possession of a Mr. Lilley, who was a bookseller of Fleet Street, London, but there apparently all traces cease.

With regard to the name of the Consul T. ARTIDIVS CELER, nothing more can be said. As Mr. Lysons suggests, he is doubtless a Consul suffectus only, his name not being known either in the Fasti as consul or on any other inscription. The

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., for the completion of the entry, he having obtained it from the minutes of the society.

name ARTIDIUS is rare, though not unprecedented. The only example that I can at present remember occurs on an inscription found at Rome, and given by Gruter, p. ccxli.

In his inscription, No. 104, found at Caerleon, Dr. Hübner omits to give the lettering on the other side of the stone. He copies the inscription from Coxe's "History of Monmouthshire," but that author appears never to have seen the stone (nor Hübner's 103, to be mentioned presently), and says, at p. 433, that "it contained two inscriptions, one of which, on the broadest side, was defaced by the mason employed to clean the stone, and the other, on the narrowest, is only in part visible."

However, in a plate of inscriptions found at Caerleon, given by Mr. G. W. Manby in his "Guide from Clifton through the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Brecknock," (Bristol, 1802), an engraving of the stone appears, showing the inscription on both sides thus—

DEDICATV		NC
VRF		SINI
OC	ES	D
VE	NIO	RIN
MAXIMOIE		VVPVI
FVRPAN <sup>O</sup>		ORNVC
COS		ESVANNING
		P

Nothing can be derived from the fragmentary inscription on the reverse, but as Dr. McCaul, "Br. Rom. Inscr." p. 124, has shown, the other side records the dedication of some building in October, A.D. 234, when Maximus for the second time, and Urbanus (MAXIMO II. ET VRBANO) were Consuls.

This leads me to the No. 103 of Dr. Hübner, which having also been copied from Coxe's "History of Monmouthshire," is very incorrectly given. It is made up of two stones, each inscribed on two sides, which Coxe has treated

as belonging to each other, and rendered accordingly, first the inscriptions on the front of each stone, one above the other, and then those on the reverse side, in a similar manner. He says of them, at p. 433, that they "are evidently two parts of one stone, the dimensions of which together are 9 ft. in length, 19 ins. broad, and 15 ins. thick; mutilated inscriptions remain on the two sides; that on the broader side appears to be a votive inscription by the second Augustan legion, and perhaps the other indicated the time in which it was erected. The plinth which formed the base of the first stone was likewise discovered, and as these stones were found within a few feet of each other, Mr. Evans conjectures that the whole formed a kind of pillar."

But Mr. Manby, in the plate before-mentioned, gives also engravings of these stones, in which, from each having a moulding round it, they would seem to be separate inscriptions. The lettering in them is thus given—

(1)

<p>NN AVGG GENIO LEG II. AVG</p>		<p>DD VIII KAL OCOB PRCR EIML.</p>
--	--	--

(2)

<p>INH<sup>O</sup>N<sup>O</sup> RENMIT MVA FE M I S IFP DD</p>		<p>COS CVR VRSO AGTæ EI      IVS</p>
--	--	--

In No. 2, the front inscription has been damaged by the right-hand side of the stone having been either chipped off, or by having come off in flakes. The small letters æ, which Mr. Manby has introduced into the inscription, are curious, and rendered more so by the fact that Coxe has done the same thing. The first stone, as Dr. McCaul has shown, evidently bears the date of 23rd September, A.D. 244, and I think that both he and Professor Hübner have rightly read the remainder of the inscriptions as far as visible.

These stones, and No. 104, were lost for many years, and Mr. Manby's work being little known, it was uncertain what had become of them. That gentleman, however, at p. 56, gives a curious account of their loss.

"Desirous," he says, "of acquiring for the public any relic which might be interesting, I applied to the owner, and hearing they were of no value to him, only as suiting the uses of the mason, determined to rescue them from such a disgrace, offered either to procure an equal quantity of stone suitable for the purposes required, or to pay him any fair determined price. Mr. Gethin consented, and assured me he would call on me the next time he came to Bristol; *not fulfilling his word*, I revisited Caerleon, with the intention of concluding the bargain, when lo! I arrived just in time to see the remains of the last stone fixing for a window frame."

In 1866, an old house adjoining the churchyard at Caerleon, probably the one mentioned by Mr. Manby, was pulled down by the vicar, and among the *débris* were found several defaced fragments of these stones, and also No. 104 entire (as regards the principal face). No one in the neighbourhood seems to have been aware of this passage in Mr. Manby's work, or more care would probably have been exercised in taking down the house in question. I subsequently pointed out the passage to Mr. Lee (author of "*Isca Silurum*,") as confirmatory of the stones being the same as mentioned by Messrs. Manby and Coxe. They are now in the Caerleon Museum. As regards Hübner's 103 being two inscriptions, I think I am fully borne out in the view by the first published account of them which appeared in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," Nov. 1800, p. 1095, and is substantially the same as Mr. Manby's.

Another fragment found at Caerleon about 1870, when it

was communicated to me by Mr. Lee, seems to have escaped Dr. Hübner's notice. It is—

XI  
VIV  
VIC  
LL  
II  
T

and too fragmentary for any reading ; but I am inclined to think it part of a tombstone of a soldier of the Second Legion, the numerals being plainly given in the fifth line. Two fragments found in Scotland are also unnoticed by Dr. Hübner.

(1)  
CVI

(2)  
O FRO

The first is a fragment of an inscription on stone, found at Red Abbey Stead,<sup>2</sup> near Newstead, Roxburghshire, a site which has already produced two inscribed altars, Hübner's Nos. 1080, 1081, and is probably the Roman *Trimontium*. No. 2 was found at Duntocher, on the Wall of Antoninus Pius, and is described by Horsley, "Britannia Romana," p. 195.

Coming to Dr. Hübner's omissions in the four northern counties (which are embraced in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale"), I will commence with Brougham, at which place the following inscriptions, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, were discovered some time prior to the summer of 1872, when they were communicated to me by Lord Brougham.

(1)  
D. M.  
CRESCENTINVS  
S. VIXIT. ANNIS  
XVIII. VIDARIS  
PATER. POSVIT

(2)  
ANNAMORIS. PATER  
ET RESSONA. MATER  
P. C.

(3)  
DEO  
BELATV

(4)  
DEO BELATVCAD  
RO BACVLO PR

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals, Scotland," p. 381.

CADRO . A	O SEETSVISV
. AM . PO	LS
SIVIT . M	
TINVS	
EX . CVNE	
.....	
.....	
.....	
RVM	

Another inscription, communicated to me at the same time by Lord Brougham, and then inedited, though subsequently published by Dr. Bruce in the "Lapidarium, is built into the roof of one of the staircases of the ruined mediæval castle of Brougham.

(5)

D . O . M  
TITIVS.  
VIXIT . ANNIS  
. SMINVSXXXXPA  
. FRATER TITVLVM  
... T

Nos. 1 and 2 were found, Lord Brougham informs me, in the smaller burial-place, on the west side of the *castrum*. No. 1 reads simply, "To the divine shades. Crescentinus lived eighteen years. Vidaris (his) father, placed (this)." It is an ordinary shaped Roman tombstone, with a pediment, the latter containing simply the first letters D. M., which are surmounted by a fir-cone, the emblem of immortality.

No. 2 occurs also on a tombstone, which bears a full-length figure of the deceased. At the feet of the figure is the inscription. The head of the figure, and the portion of the stone above it (which probably gave the name and age of the deceased) has been broken off. The remaining inscription reads, "Annamoris (the) father and Ressona (the) mother caused (this) to be placed."

No. 3 is an altar, but in a bad state of preservation, so that its conclusion cannot be satisfactorily made out. It reads, *Deo Belatucadro A(r)am posivit Matinus ex cune(o) . . . rum*. Beyond the fact that the altar was erected by Matinus (this is apparently the name) to the god Belatucader, and that he held some post in a *cuneus*, we can

learn nothing. The *cuneus* was a body of troops, whose province it was, when engaged with an enemy, to fight in the form of a wedge, with the view of more easily breaking the opposing ranks.

No. 4 is more simple. It reads, "*Deo Belatucadro Baculo pro se et suis v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*," i. e., "To the god Belatucader, Baculo for himself and his (family) willingly performs his vow."

No. 5 is also a tombstone. It is erected by a brother to a person, one of whose names was Titius, who lived *more or less* thirty years (for I take the s preceding MINVS to be the end of the word PLVS). The brother's name is lost. The inscription has probably commenced, D. O. M. S., i. e., "*Diis omnibus manibus sacrum*," "Sacred to all the divine shades."

At Netherby the following omission occurs in Dr. Hübner's work :—

... NVIDIO  
... ISMENTVLA.

This no doubt, as Dr. Bruce observes, is the expression of "some coarse jest." It had probably a phallic ornament attached to the lost portion of the stone, similar to one found at Adel in Yorkshire, bearing a somewhat analogous inscription.

There is another inscription also found at Netherby (Bruce, "Lap. Sept.," No. 768), in a most obscure and worn state, which Dr. Hübner does not give. It is almost, and in fact for all practical purposes perfectly, illegible, though it seems from the first line to be a dedication to Diana on an altar 1 ft. 7 in. high.

Dr. Hübner's omissions at Bewcastle are as follows :

(1)	(2)
DEO	DEO
SANCTO	...
COCIDI .	
ANNIVS	
VICTOR	
CENTVR	
LEGIONI .	
.....	

The first of these was found in making a drain a little



north of the station. Dr. Bruce is wrong in saying that he had published it for the first time in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale (No. 735). It was first noticed in the "Reliquary," vol. iv., p. 44, soon after its discovery. The last line is doubtful from its worn state. Dr. Bruce reads it *SEXTAE*, thus making the whole *Deo Sancto Cocidio Annius Victor Centur(io) Legioni(s) Sextae*.

The second is merely the head of an altar, the remainder being destroyed. To what god it was erected cannot therefore be ascertained

An exactly similar omission occurs in Dr. Hübner's Lancaster inscriptions, at which place the head of an altar inscribed simply—

DEO

...

was found some years ago. (Bruce, "Lap. Sept.," No. 690.)

About two months before Dr. Hübner completed his work there was found at Ebchester a small altar, which he fails to notice. It bore the following inscription, as far as legible :—

DEO

VITIR

.....

This is one of a well-known class of altars found in the north of England. When entire, the inscription probably was, *Deo Veterineo* (or *Vitirineo*).

A large stone from the walls of a building, in all probability only the portion of a larger one, bearing the letters—

VI VICTORINI,

found at the Roman station at Papcastle (Bruce, "Lap. Sept.," No. 909), is also omitted.

At Old Carlisle, an altar, found about 1867 or 1868, and given by Dr. Bruce in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale (No. 831), is omitted by Dr. Hübner. The inscription is—

DEO

BELATVCA

DRO . SANCTO

AVR . TASVLVS

VET . V . S . L . \*

And should no doubt be expanded, *Deo Belatucadro Sancto*

*Aur(elius) Tasulus Vet(eranus) V(otum) S(oluit) L(ibens) Merito*), the *M* for the last word having been obliterated. *Veteranus*, the title of a soldier who had served his full time in the army is rare in Anglo-Roman epigraphy.

At the great station at Ellenborough, Dr. Hübner's omissions seem to consist only of three fragmentary inscriptions, viz. ;—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
D. M. S	DIARI	COI...
AEL AC..	TI RIVNC	HI. PPE
... ANI ..		VI NTE
		RA NT
		NP

Of these, No. 1 is a fragment of a tombstone found, in 1870, in taking down an old wall near the *castrum*, and was communicated to me by Mr. Senhouse, the owner of the site. (See also "Architect," Jan. 15, 1870.) It evidently commences *Dis Manibus Sacrum*, and the *prænomen* of the person commemorated is *Aelius*, but beyond this we are unable to proceed on account of its shattered state. This inscription is omitted by Dr. Bruce.

Nos. 2 and 3 were found with the sixteen altars in April, 1870, and are also very obscure fragments. They both contain several ligulate or tied letters, which, however, I have disconnected in the above copy. No. 2 seems hopelessly obscure. In No. 3 there is a letter preceding the first *P* in the second line which looks like a reversed *E*—Possibly it may be meant for *s*, and the two first lines might then read *COH. (I. AEL) HISP.* In the fourth line it is also possible that we have part of the word *curante* (*vide* "Lap. Sept.," No. 898).

Considering the many hundreds of inscriptions found on the line of the wall of Hadrian, Dr. Hübner's omissions are singularly few. The completion of the first three parts of the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," prior to the appearance of his seventh volume, will probably account for this. They seem to be the following, nine in number :—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
DEAE	COH. VIII	DISCP
....	SILCII	.....
....		

(4.)	(5.)	(6.)
.... I DEC . S	COH . I . > LIBONS .	COH . VI
VIDIA . CL .		VORVM . ISTI .
..... CAN		

(7.)	(8.)	(9.)
COH . I	I . BLASIOS	MARTI.
> CLAVID .	AI B INE C	
	SVB P .	

These are nearly all fragmentary inscriptions, and not of much importance. No. 1 is from Chesterholm (*Vindolana*), Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are from Little Chesters (*Aesica*), Nos. 5, 6, and 7 from Caervorran (*Magna*) and its neighbourhood. No. 8 is from Walton Castlesteads. Dr. Bruce, in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," gives Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 7, but not the remainder.

No. 1 is merely the head of an altar, the name of the goddess to whom it is dedicated being lost. It is now built up in the wall of a passage at the house at Chesterholm.

No. 2 is a centurial stone probably reading *Cohors octava, centuria Silicii*.

No. 3 is the head of an altar, found by Dr. Lingard at *Aesica*, in 1800; when entire it has probably read, as in another case, DISCIPLINAE . AVGVSTI (Hodgson, "Northumberland," vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 203).

Of No. 4 little can be said, owing to the very fragmentary state of the inscription, although the altar on which it occurred was 5 ft. high, and entire. So says Dr. Lingard, who adds that it was much defaced, and the above was all he could see on it (Hodgson, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 203).

No. 5 is a centurial stone, which Dr. Bruce reads ("Lap. Sept.," No. 332), *Cohortis primae centuria Libonis*.

No. 6, Dr. Hübner thinks is the same as his No. 777, which is

COH . I . BAT  
VORVM . F .

but Hodgson, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 141, gives both of these as separate inscriptions. The former is also given in Gough's "Camden" (edit. 1789), vol. ii., pl. xvi., fig. 3; and in Hutchinson's "View of Northumberland," i. 18.

No. 7 found at Gap, near Caervarron, Dr. Bruce reads as

*Cohortis secundæ (?) centuria Claudii Avidi* ("Lap. Sept." No. 347). It is now built into an outhouse.

No. 8 is given in Hutchinson's "Cumberland," vol. i. p. 108, fig. 10. He describes it as lately having been found at Castlestead, but it is too fragmentary for anything to be gathered from it.

No. 9 is stated in Bishop Gibson's edition of "Camden's Britannia" (1722), p. 1035, to have been inscribed on the pedestal of a statue at *Borcovicus* (Housesteads), and seen by him in 1708. Neither Dr. Hübner nor Dr. Bruce give it.

Leaving the wall, Sir R. C. Hoare, in his "Giraldus Cambrensis," vol. i. p. clv. says that a centurial stone, inscribed MARC . . . , was to be seen in the "outward walls" of the church at Maentwrog, near Festiniog, Merionethshire. It is not now there. Dr. Hübner does not appear to notice it, though he gives two other inscriptions, Nos. 144-5, preserved in the same village. They were from the Roman *castrum* at *Tomen-y-Mur*.

In the "Archaeological Journal," vol. xiii. p. 329, Mr. E. W. Godwin, in describing a Roman tessellated pavement, partially opened in 1838, and subsequently in 1856, at Colerne, Wilts, says: "From the descriptions of those persons in the neighbourhood who visited the pavement in 1838, it appears that the design consisted of a chariot with a charioteer and four horses abreast. Some persons in the parish remembered seeing an inscription or word above the chariot, which the parish clerk told me was either SERVIVS, or SEVERVS, but this I found no one could confirm."

No notice is taken by Dr. Hübner of the gold tablet found at Caernarvon (or rather at Llanbeblig, near that town), the ancient *Segontium*. It is now preserved in the Caernarvon Museum, at the Castle, but as no photograph has been allowed to be taken of it—indeed the plate is not at present to be seen—I forbear giving a copy of what *was said to be* the inscription. It is principally in Greek, but there are other characters mixed with the Greek letters. Several Hebrew names occur on the plate, which is 4 ins. long by 1 in. broad. An inscription "in astral or magical characters" follows the principal one. The Rev. C. W. King, M.A., who is perhaps more versed in the inscriptions relating to the Gnostics than any other living Englishman, informs me that he has a copy similar to mine, but can make no sense of

- it. Nothing but a photograph would be of service to a scholar in this case. For a description of this plate the reader is referred to the "Cambrian Quarterly Magazine," vol. i. p. 116, "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. iii. 1st series, p. 362.

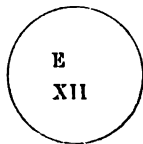
Dr. Hübner's chapter, "Signacula ex Aere," is deficient of a bronze stamp found at Cramond, near Edinburgh, and preserved at Pennicuik House, in that neighbourhood. It is  $2\frac{3}{8}$  ins. by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. The inscription is

TERTVLL . PROVINC .

"It is surmounted by a crescent, and bears the words, in raised letters of half an inch in height \*\*\*\*. The inscription is reversed, having evidently been designed for use as a stamp, and on the back is a ring handle in the form of a leaf" (Wilson, "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," p. 391). I am inclined to read the name on this stamp as *Tertullus Provincialis*. The name of *Marcus Didius Provincialis* occurs in an inscription found at Lanchester.

In his chapter on "Tesseræ" Dr. Hübner has overlooked two of these articles bearing inscriptions, described in the "Archæological Journal," vol. vii. p. 71. The lettering on them was,—

(1)



No. 1 was found at Shefford in Bedfordshire, and No. 2 in Northamptonshire, but the exact locality is not stated. They are of burnt clay, and red in colour, and each about 1 in. in diameter. Two others, found in Norfolk, are also omitted. The first is described in the "Gentleman's Magazine," March, 1792, p. 214, and engraved pl. iii. fig. 2. It was of earth, about one-eighth of an inch thick, and was found at Elmham, near Swaffham. It is represented thus—



The second is thus described in the Norwich vol. of the "Archæological Institute," p. xxviii., amongst the antiquities then exhibited: "A small disc or tessera of baked clay, about one-sixth of an inch in thickness, diameter 3 ins. It was found at Attleborough, Norfolk. One side is marked with diagonal lines forming a cross, and the letters S. C. V. R. On the other are the letters H. IMP . . . I (XP ?)."

In his list of "Anuli" Dr. Hübner omits a ring found in Lothbury, London, and now in Mr. Gunston's collection, bearing the inscription—

## VITA. VOLO.

It is of iron, and the inscription is on a small plate of brass, which is inserted in it. Mr. J. E. Price, in vol. iii. of the "Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society," calls it a wedding ring.

In the chapter "Gemmis Inscripta" an onyx seal found at Silchester has escaped Dr. Hübner's notice. It is described in Gough's "Camden" (ed. 1789), vol. i. p. 142, and bore the inscription, ZACP. At that time it was in the possession of a publican named Stair, at Aldermaston, with another similar seal bearing the figure of a cock picking out of a cornucopia, but no inscription, and a number of silver and brass Roman coins.<sup>3</sup>

In the chapter "Vascula Vitrea" there is an omission of the inscription on the bottom of a glass vessel found at Bex-Hill, near Sittingbourne, Kent, with a Roman leaden coffin, in 1869 (see "Antiquary," April 6th, 1872). The inscription is, IBONI. Another of the same nature occurs with regard to a glass vessel, 6½ in. high, found in the Roman cemetery at Newbury, Berks, with a number of other vessels. The letters were simply S. P. S., and were accompanied by a figure resembling Æsculapius strangling the serpent. They were, as in the previous example, on the bottom of the vessel.

Dr. Hübner's omissions in the list of potter's marks would form a chapter of themselves. I leave, however, to others

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hübner also omits two leaden seals found at Richborough in Kent, bearing the head of the Conqueror Constantine, and round it the words *CONSTANTINVS P. AVG.* ("Coll. Antiq.," vol. vi.

p. 120); also a drinking-cup, found in a leaden coffin at Petham in the same county, inscribed *SISE* ("Col. Antiq.," vol. iv. p. 173).

the task of cataloguing them, as they hardly come within the range of classical inscriptions.

In the omission of milliaries, Professor Hübner seems to be singularly unfortunate. In my former paper on "Some Neglected or Forgotten Roman Inscriptions found in Britain," I chronicled three of them; I have now to add five others.

In the chapter, "*Viæ Britanniae Meridionalis*, Hübner gives only two milliaries of the Emperor Tetricus as being found at Bittern, near Southampton (*Clausentum*), though he seems to suggest that the third was probably another copy of one of the others. This, however, is not the case, a glance at the dimensions of the stones, and the large amount of space on the one compared with that on the other, both over and under the inscription, would at once have proved that they were separate milestones. The one that he omits is engraved in the Winchester volume of the British Archæological Association, pl. 6, fig. 4. The other two are given in the preceding plate. Dr. Hübner also omits another stone bearing an obscure inscription from the same place, and engraved in the same volume, pl. 5, fig. 5. These inscriptions are as follows:—

(1)	(2)
(1)MP. CA . .	. . TXVIII
C. AESVIO	N SN. AVRN V
TETRICO	VET SAENAB
P. F. AVG.	NDINI MP. ST

The first of these seems to read, *Imperatorii Caesari Caio Aesvio Tetrico Pio Felici Augusto*. The second, which I have copied from Sir H. C. Englefield's "Walk through Southampton," p. 124 (as being more complete than Mr. Smith's engraving in the Winchester volume of the British Archæological Association), is very peculiar. Sir H. C. Englefield says that it "appears to be a fragment of a miliary column. It is 18 in. in diameter, of a solid, blackish stone. The back part is left rough, as if intended to be fixed against a wall. I dare not hazard any reading of the inscription, which is of very rude workmanship."

The inscription contains several conjoined or ligulate letters. In the copy given above I have untied them, and added the first stroke of the N in the last line. Sir H.

C. Englefield's engraving evidently does not suggest that it is a v but rather the latter part of an n. Another difficulty is that we have not got the commencement of the lines which appear to have been worn off. From what remains of the last line, I come to the conclusion that it marked a certain number of miles (M. P. *millia passus*) from some place whose name in the ablative ended in . . . NDINI. The only place to which it would seem to apply is a Roman station, which has heretofore been called *Londinis*, named only by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna. In the copy of this work, formerly in the possession of Louis XIV., and now preserved in Paris, this place is called *Landinis*; in the copy preserved in the Vatican, it is called *Lindinis*. It was situated somewhere in the south of England, but its site has been so far unknown. Baxter conjecturally placed it at Lyme Regis. Is this the place named on the stone? The last letters *sr* are the most puzzling portion of the inscription; but there is little doubt that the copy is an erroneous one in many particulars, and the stone is now lost.

In the "*Viæ Britanniae Mediterraneæ*" three omissions have to be noticed, which are as follows:—

(1)	(2)	(3)
CORN	IMP. CAE	. . . . .
ALLIGN	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .	. . . . .
		M. P.

The first was found at Wroxeter, and is thus described by the Rev. H. M. Scarth in the "*Archaeological Journal*," vol. xvi. p. 65,—“Another fragment has lately been discovered, which is in the possession of the present vicar, the Rev. E. Egremont; it seems to be a portion of a milestone, and bears the letters CORN, and in the line below may be deciphered the letters ALLIGN.” Where this fragment now is I cannot say. Mr. Egremont tells me that it is not now at Wroxeter, nor does he remember it. The Rev. H. M. Scarth, in a recent letter to me, says that when he wrote of it, that it was in the Vicarage garden at Wroxeter. He also says that it was very difficult to read, and that the first L might have been a D. It is possible that the *Cornavii*, in



whose territory Wroxeter was situated, may have been named in the first fragmentary line.

Nos. 2 and 3 are very interesting and important. They were found in 1812 by Colonel Hill, when draining Moston Pool and an adjoining morass of 250 acres, in the parish of Stanton, on Hine Heath, Shropshire. The spot was only a mile from the large Roman camp at Bury Walls, which, in my paper on *Mediolanum* ("Arch. Journal," vol. xxx. p. 169), I designated the ancient *Rutunium*. An account of the discovery is given in a little work called the "Antiquities of Hawkstone,"<sup>4</sup> in which the late Rev. J. B. Blakeway adds a note on this subject, and at p. 88 says that the stones "were found at the bottom of the pool, which was but a few feet deep (and apparently of recent formation, by throwing up a dam to confine the water of a rivulet which flowed through the morass"). The stones found were four in number. "The whole of the soil at the bottom of the pool and the morass consisted of peat to the depth of 14 ft., with the exception of the spot on which these stones were found, which was a bed of gravel evidently brought from a distance; and that the morass existed upwards of seven centuries ago is manifest from the name of the neighbouring village Moston (q. d. Moss Town), which occurs in Domesday.

"The stones have originally formed two rude four-sided shafts surrounding quadrangular pedestals. The proper height of the shafts cannot be ascertained, as the summits of both are broken off, but the present height (shaft and pedestal) of one is 4 ft. 6 in., besides 1 ft. 8 in. to let into the ground; of the other, 4 ft. 8 in. Both of the shafts and one of the pedestals have borne inscriptions; from the letters IMP. CAE. on one, they are undoubtedly Roman; from M. P. on the other, they are probably milliaria—perhaps records of distances along a whole line of road. If so, the loss of the inscriptions (for they are irreparably defaced) is a deplorable injury to the Roman geography of Shropshire. It is difficult, however, to conceive how milestones should be found anywhere, except on the side of a public road; while it is certain that no road ever passed by this spot, for

<sup>4</sup> There is no date to this volume, but from its internal evidence especially the statement of the Duke of Wellington being then premier (p. 52), it was pro-

bably published circa 1829. It seems to have been edited by one of the ladies of the Hill family.

the moss has been cut to the depth of 14 ft. in every possible direction without finding anything but peat, except the above-mentioned heap of gravel. It has been thought that this was not the original situation of the stones, but that they have been brought hither, at some remote period, for the purpose of mere stones, as the boundary between the parishes of Hodnet and Lee is close by. This would account for the lamentable manner in which they are defaced. In this case they may have been removed from the side of a road, running from the Bury Walls (which is nearly proved by the vicinity of these Roman remains to have been the ancient *Rutunium*) to Wroxeter, and perhaps through the village of Stanton, the name of which appears to indicate that a Roman road formerly passed through it."

The author of the work adds a further note at the same page:—"Since the above was written very deep drains have been cut in many parts of the moor, and traces of a road about nine feet in width are evident in six or seven places. This road was close to the spot on which stood the stones already described; it passed from south to north, corresponding with the situations of Wroxeter and Chester, and at the distance of a mile from the Bury walls," &c. At p. 91 another note says:—"During the heat and drought of the years 1825 and 1826, in consequence of the contraction and cracking of the peat of the morass, several oak trees in a state of perfect preservation became visible. They were by the side of the road, with the construction of which perhaps they had interfered. On one of them the marks of the axe were clearly seen. The lower ends of the trees were very near the surface of the earth, the tops of them seven or eight feet beneath it. The form of the ground shows that a pool of greater depth than the one before-mentioned lay beside the road, and into that pool the trees had fallen."

I have endeavoured to trace where these stones are now preserved. They are probably still in the neighbourhood, as the Dowager Lady Hill remembers that they were at Hawkstone about forty years ago (1830-35), *i. e.*, some twenty years after their discovery, but they cannot be found there now.

The road discovered being only 9 ft. in width proves that the direct road from Wroxeter to Chester was not one of the Higher Empire, but was constructed subsequently;

thus confirming the accuracy of the Itinerary, which connects the two places *viâ Mediolanum* (Chesterton), as I have previously stated ("Arch. Journ.," vol. xxx. p. 171).

In the same vol., p. 159, I also stated the difficulty of tracing the roads in this neighbourhood, owing to the intervention of numerous boggy districts, in which not only they, but even villas would sink, and alluded to it as the great cause of our ignorance as to their direction. This discovery of the road at such a great depth (probably nearly 20 ft.) is a confirmation of the statement. Almost an equal depth had to be encountered at Wroxeter. The milestones seem to have been elevated above the level of the road considerably, on the summit of the gravel heap.

A few words on the station (*Rutunium*) itself from the same work will not be out of place. At p. 59 it is said:—"The only part of the rocky eminence which is not inaccessible, or nearly so, was protected by a triple entrenchment. *The wall* encloses a plain of twenty acres, and may be traced round the brink of the hill, leaving indeed four narrow chasms, which seem to point out the spots where the gates of the city stood. A fine spring rises within the walls, one still more abundant and translucent immediately beyond them."

A Roman *walled castrum* of *twenty acres* is indeed one of large size. The writer is also no doubt correct as to the gates, the arrangement seeming to be the same as in similar *castra*.

At p. 87 it is said in another note:—"It is probable that many precious relics lie hidden in this neighbourhood. A farmer who rented the land within the 'Bury Walls' had a few years since collected from it several pieces of earthenware, bricks, &c., of antique appearance. These fell into the hands of servants, and were disposed of as rubbish."

These extra facts, added to the evidence adduced in my former paper on *Mediolanum*, seem conclusive as to the existence here of a large station. That it was *Rutunium* is an opinion that I still hold. There seems to have been a Roman building discovered in the neighbourhood also, for the author of the same work says in a note, p. 53:—"About fifteen years since" (*i. e.* A.D. 1814) "on digging up a mount in a garden at Weston the foundation of a small oblong building was discovered. The walls were double; in the space between them bones are said to have been found."

There are a few inscriptions which have not been published, nor have the stones been preserved, and they are therefore entirely lost. It is well, however, to preserve a record of them. In addition to that found at the Roman station at Ambleside, which Professor Hübner mentions, and which I have for many years endeavoured to trace, there are the following within my knowledge :—A stone, inscribed, found covering an urn, full of coins, at Bourn, Lincolnshire (Marratt's "History of Lincolnshire," vol. iii. p. 79). An inscribed sarcophagus, with skeleton and vase of coins, &c., found at Leyton (Essex), near Hackney, in November, 1783 ("Gent. Mag.," 1783, p. 899). A large flagstone, inscribed, found at a Roman station called "Castle Flemish," Pembrokeshire, nine miles north-east from Haverford West (Lewis, "Top. Dict. of Wales," ed. 1850, article, "Ambleston"). An inscribed altar found at Caergwrle, Flintshire (Lewis, "Top. Dict. of Wales," ed. 1850, article "Hope"; also "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i. 4th series, p. 341, and vol. ii. 4th series, p. 97, &c.). A Roman tessellated pavement, bearing an inscription, found in Little St. Helen's, London, August 15th, 1733 ("Gent. Mag.," 1733, p. 436). Roman tiles, found in 1831 with many other Roman remains at Cayo, Caermarthenshire, and said, no doubt erroneously, to bear the inscriptions H. MI and I. VV. (Lewis, "Top. Dict. of Wales," ed. 1850, article "Cayo"). Last, but not least, the Hon. and Rev. P. G. Willoughby, Vicar of Painswick, Gloucester, informs me that in some partial excavations in 1868, on the site of a Roman villa at Highfield Farm, near that town, an inscribed stone was discovered, which is now lost, though I have made every possible search for it. From a passage in the "Gent. Mag.," August, 1770, I at one time concluded that an altar dedicated to Fortune had been found in Caermarthenshire, but I am now in possession of evidence which negatives such a supposition.<sup>5</sup>

In concluding this list I must add an inscription of a peculiar nature, and which is very doubtful. In the "Gent. Mag.," August, 1770, p. 387, it is said :—"In the Mearnes of Scotland a stone has lately been dug up with this inscription,—

B. IM. L.

<sup>5</sup> To these must be added a Roman altar found in 1730 at Frilsham near Speen, Berkshire, bearing an inscription to Jupiter (Lysons' "Mag. Brit.," vol. i.

p. 199); and an inscribed stone, with some stamped tiles, found at Llanvihangel-Cwm-du ("Archæologia Scotica," vol. iii. p. 91).

which probably means *Romani Imperii Limes*." (!!) If this stone is of the Roman period, the above is certainly not its reading, but I doubt whether it is Roman at all.

Such, so far as it is in my power to ascertain, are the Britanno-Roman inscriptions omitted by Dr. Hübner. There may possibly be still a few to be obtained from MSS. in large collections, and in very scarce works. Should any come under my notice I shall endeavour at a future time to make them public. In the meantime I hope to publish at the close of the current year the inscriptions found *since* Dr. Hübner published his volume. I do this at the request of many of the most eminent Anglo-Roman antiquaries, who have also requested me to publish an annual list of fresh discoveries. I may add that the recent discoveries are nearly fifty in number, and some of them very important.

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BRITTANY.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Professor of Latin in Queen's College, Cork.

BRITTANY, we must admit, is in many respects inferior to other parts of France. It cannot show the sublime scenery of Alpine heights, or vast structures of ancient art, wonderful even in ruins, such as may be seen at Orange, Arles, and Nîmes, but it has its own special claims on the attention of the English archæologist. The very name of the province, being that of our own country, at first sight awakens curiosity. One of its divisions, Cornouaille, reminds us of an English county, while the geography of every district abounds in appellations, prefixes and suffixes, that recur in the map of Wales. Moreover, the history of Brittany is for a long period intertwined with our own. In the fourth century a body of emigrants from Wales, under Maximus and Conan Meriadec, seem to have laid the foundation of an independent kingdom in Armorica.<sup>1</sup> During the fifth and sixth centuries the intercourse between the churches of the two countries was so frequent as to cause astonishment, when we consider the difficulties of travelling at that time.<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Brittany was the

<sup>1</sup> The legend of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins is connected with the settlement of Conan in Armorica; they are said to have been captured by pagan pirates on their voyage to the continent. The name *Conan* recurs at a later period among the Dukes of Brittany and may be seen in their coinage. Ducarel, "Anglo-Gallie Coins:" plates 10-12, contain those issued by the Dukes of Brittany, who were Earls of Richmond in Yorkshire.

<sup>2</sup> In the former half of the sixth century Cadfan and a company of saints came from Armorica to Wales, in the latter half Brittany received a supply of saints from Wales. Lupus and Germanus (Garmon or Harmon) were sent from France to check the progress of

Pelagianism in Britain. Gildas (Aneurin), the first of British historians, emigrated from Wales, and founded the monastery of Rhys. — Rees, "Essay on the Welsh Saints," pp. 94-105, 213, 218, 244, 256. The seven saints of Brittany are Paternus, Samson, Paul, Tugdual, Corentin, Brieuc, and Malo. All but the first were British by birth. — Montalembert, "Les Moines d'Occident, vol. ii. p. 228. The close connection between the two countries is proved by their legendary as well as their ecclesiastical history, for it is doubtful whether the romances of Arthur and the Round Table are insular or continental in their origin. — Villemarqué, "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," pp. 21, 35-37.

guardian of William the Conqueror, and the rivalry between Blois and Montfort, with its sudden changes of fortune and display of female heroism, forms an interesting episode in the great war between Edward III. and the House of Valois.<sup>3</sup>

We may divide the monuments of this province into three classes. 1. The Pre-historic and Celtic. 2. The Roman and Gallo-Roman. 3. The Mediæval. I propose now to treat chiefly of the Roman antiquities, partly because this branch of the subject has been little noticed by Englishmen, and partly because the study of these remains will assist us in arriving at correct conclusions concerning those of a still earlier date.

Before proceeding to details, it may be worth while to glance at the ancient authorities. Among the Greek and Roman writers who have left us accounts of Brittany the principal are Cæsar and Strabo. Cæsar's notice of this province occupies only ten chapters, but his testimony cannot be overrated, as it comes from an eyewitness. In his history of the war with the Veneti, he relates the first battle of the Romans on the ocean, and as we read the passage our sympathies are excited by the spectacle of a brave people struggling in vain against the superior discipline of their merciless conqueror. At this early period the inhabitants of Armorica had attained to a higher degree of civilization than is usually supposed, for we are in danger of being misled by the word *barbarians* applied to the nations with whom the Romans came in contact. The sites of the towns were admirably chosen for purposes of defence, as they were built on promontories (*in extremis lingulis promontoriisque*), and could not be approached by land forces at high water, or by ships when the tide was low. Their vessels were skilfully constructed with flat bottoms, adapted to the navigation of shallow rivers and creeks, while their strong timber and high prows and sterns enabled them to encounter the storms of the sea and the attacks of their enemies. He who would understand the monuments of the Gauls and Romans in Brittany should go there with Cæsar's Commentaries in his hand; he will then see the remains of the ancient towns, not only in the

<sup>3</sup> This War of Succession has been related by Froissart in a graphic style that

has won for him the title of the "Herodotus of the Middle Ages." Chaps. 64-69.

Morbihan but also in Finistère, corresponding exactly to this author's description.<sup>4</sup>

Next comes the geographer Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius. He evidently had access to other sources of information besides Cæsar's narrative. For example, he controverts the statement of Eratosthenes concerning the curvature of Europe in a westerly direction beyond the Pillars of Hercules,<sup>5</sup> and refers to the voyages of Pytheas, the daring navigator of Marseilles, who was probably the first of the Greeks to explore the Atlantic. Strabo mentions the Osismii, who occur in Cæsar, the island Uxisama, Ushant, and the promontory of Cabaeum, perhaps the Pointe du Raz, which he describes as projecting considerably into the ocean. He expresses an opinion that the Venetians on the Adriatic derived their origin from the people of the same name in Brittany, but is careful to avoid making a positive assertion on so doubtful a subject.

Little information can be gleaned from Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, as they only supply long lists of names, "rarely interspersed with notices of important facts."<sup>6</sup>

D'Anville has justly remarked that the geography of this part of Gaul is the most obscure. This may be accounted for in various ways. The Itineraries fail us for the Roman roads in Brittany, and we are therefore deprived of a valuable aid in antiquarian investigation. Again, the course of trade from Britain to the south of Europe seems to have been through the central parts of France, so that Armorica was left on one side, and vessels in all probability usually crossed the Channel, as Cæsar did, at or near its narrowest width.<sup>7</sup> Great quantities of tin must have been

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," book iii. 17-18, especially 12 and 13. "Histoire de Jules César par l'Empereur Napoléon III.," vol. ii. chap. vi. pp. 121-131, l'anche 12, "Carte de la Campagne contre les Venètes."

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, lib. i. cap. iv. § 5. He says that the Veneti caulked their ships with sea-weed to prevent the oak timber from being injured by excessive dryness, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 1. But one would be inclined to think that this plan would not be successful on account of the decomposition of the sea-weed.

<sup>6</sup> Pomponius Mela mentions the Osismii, lib. iii. cap. ii., and the island of Sena, lib. iii. cap. vi. Pliny, iv. § 107,

gives the dimensions of Brittany, both for the circuit round the coast, and for the base of this triangular peninsula:—"Peninsulam spectatorem excurrentem in Oceanum a fine Osismorum circuitu DCXXV. M. pass. cervice in latitudinem CXXV. M." Dionysius Periegetes, v. 570, speaks of an island where women crowned with ivy celebrated the orgies of Bacchus. This island is perhaps the same as one opposite the mouth of the Loire mentioned by Strabo, who here follows Posidonius, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 6.

<sup>7</sup> The chief authority for the course of the tin trade is Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cc. 22, 38, who says that it was διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς, through the mid-



imported from Cornwall to be employed in the composition of bronze for statues and domestic utensils. This material, whether conveyed by Phœnician ships through the Straits of Gibraltar, or carried overland to Marseilles, would not for the most part go through Brittany; so that the traffic would contribute little to the knowledge of this province among the Greeks and Romans. Lastly, the jealous and exclusive spirit that prevailed in antiquity hindered the attainment of accurate geographical information concerning remote districts. Each state endeavoured to monopolize as much as possible; so Strabo tells us that the Veneti fought against Cæsar with a view to prevent his passage into Britain, because they traded with that country. But in his account of the Cassiterides, he gives us a much more striking instance. He says that in former times the Phœnicians alone had commercial relations with these islands, and that they concealed the navigation from the rest of the world. The Romans followed one of their captains in the hope of discovering the ports to which he was sailing, but to frustrate their design he stranded his ship, and on his return was compensated by the state for the loss of his cargo.<sup>8</sup>

When we compare the Roman antiquities of Brittany with those of the south of France, we see much the same difference as between Northumberland and Gloucestershire; the former consisting chiefly of roads and forts indicating a *military* occupation, while the latter present on every side, both in architecture and sculpture, the proofs of peaceful possession, luxury, and refinement. There are in Brittany no triumphal arches, temples, or amphitheatres, but only vestiges of causeways that appear for a short space, and then elude our search—substructions or ruins of towers, walls, and houses rising a few feet above the ground,—rude figures, the work probably of unskilled soldiers, and specimens of glass and ceramic ware that have little intrinsic merit to attract the attention of the connoisseur. But there is a point of view from which these fragmentary and

land part of Gaul. Mr. Fergusson, in his "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 334, note, describes the traffic as passing through the dolmen country, which according to his map was the west side of Gaul, so that his account does not exactly corre-

spond with that of the Greek historian.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, lib. iii. cap. v. § 11. Compare Heeren's "Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations," vol. i. pp. 321, 331; "African Nations," vol. i. p. 170.

inartistic remains seem more interesting than the noblest monuments of the Eternal City—situated at the extremity of Gaul on the shores of the Atlantic, they show, even now, after the lapse of many centuries, more forcibly than anything else, the strength of the central government, the energy and skill with which it conquered, at this great distance from the capital, every obstacle presented by nature, or by the hostility of barbarous tribes. Though the work of the Romans has been impaired by accidents, and their materials have been used as quarries in the Middle Ages, enough is left even here to prove that their civil and military organisation was more complete than in any country of modern Europe down to a very recent date.<sup>9</sup>

It is gratifying to observe that, notwithstanding the difficulties above mentioned, the science of archæology has made rapid progress in this part of France, which has been accused, sometimes unfairly, of lagging behind the rest of the country. To a discovery made by M. Le Men I beg now to call attention. The site of Vorganium, the capital of the Osismii, was placed by D'Anville at Carhaix, and though the evidence was very insufficient, succeeding topographers accepted his conclusion. At last the researches of M. Le Men have made clear what previously was so dark. In the year 1837, M. de Kerdanet mentioned the existence of a milestone at the village of Kerscao, in the arrondissement of Brest, but he was not successful in deciphering the words upon it; he supposed it to be an *altar* to Claudius, the son of Drusus, and in support of this view, referred to a passage in Seneca, who speaks of peasants erecting monuments of this kind in honour of the emperor. Another antiquary interpreted the inscription as expressing the distance in Gallic leagues, which were not in use as a measurement till a much later period. In January, 1873, the milestone was removed from its original position, and deposited in the Departmental Museum at Quimper. After careful study, M. Le Men gives the text as follows:—

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," p. 75, gives a striking proof of the superiority of the ancient Romans over the modern English in this respect. When the Pretender invaded England, General Wade, who was at Newcastle, could not relieve

Carlisle because the roads were "impassable for artillery." The city consequently fell into the hands of the enemy. Such a disaster could not have happened in the age of the Antonines, for the Roman military way accompanied the wall.

TI. CLAVDIVS  
 DRVSI FILIVS  
 CAESAR AVG. . .  
 GERMANICVS  
 (PO)NTIFEX MAXI(MVS)  
 TRIBVNICIA (PO)T  
 IMP XI PPCoS (I)II  
 DESIGNATVS IIII  
 VORGAN MP VIII<sup>1</sup>

and his reading has been approved with a very trifling exception, by the Commissioners for the topography of Gaul. The name and title of the emperor occur here, as on Roman coins, in the *nominative*, though the dative is frequently used for the person in whose honour a monument was erected. The words IMP XI are in accordance with the testimony of Dion Cassius, who tells us that Claudius was repeatedly saluted as Imperator. At first sight this epithet may appear incompatible with his unwarlike character; but it is easily understood if we call to mind his expedition into Britain, which was rewarded with a triumph, and the fact that the Roman emperors were credited with the successes obtained by their generals. Claudius crossed over into Britain in the year A.D. 43, having, as Suetonius informs us, marched through Gaul from Marseilles to Boulogne.<sup>2</sup> In the last line but one, Claudius is mentioned as being consul-elect for the fourth time, and thus the date of this inscription is known to be A.D. 46. This monument was therefore erected within three years from his British campaign, when the presence and victories of Claudius were still fresh in the recollection of the Gauls. But the last line is specially interesting, as it enabled M. de Men to ascertain the site of the capital of the Osismii. Vorganium is here stated to be eight Roman miles distant from this stone, which would be equivalent

<sup>1</sup> For the titles of Claudius in this inscription compare a much more famous one of the same emperor on his triumphal arch at Rome, and one at Cyzicus. The latter is the subject of an excellent article by M. Georges Perrot in the "Revue Archéologique," February, 1876, pp. 99-105. He refers to the inscription on the arch, and gives the earlier part of it more correctly than Orelli and Merivale.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius "Claudius," cap. 17 :—"A

Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto." Claudius has been held up to contempt as stupid and feeble, but he deserves respect from antiquaries. He wrote in Greek histories of Etruria and Carthage. Suet., *ib.*, 42; Tacitus, "Annales," xi. 13, 14, 24. We have a specimen of his archaeological lore in his speech still extant, engraved on two bronze tablets found at Lyons, Gruter, vol. i. p. DII.

to about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  English miles. This is only the Gallic name Morgant, slightly modified by the Romans ; it means the sea coast, and is the same as the Welsh Morgan, which was translated into Greek, and became Pelagius, the usual designation of the Heresiarch, who figures so prominently in the controversies concerning free will, divine grace, and election. The interchange of M and V is in accordance with the laws of language, and especially with the practice of the Celtic tongue. In the Breton dialect, M is one of the moveable letters, and corresponds with V ; so we have *tad mad*, good father, but *mam vad*, good mother ; and similarly *vam*, mother, in the singular, but *mameu* in the plural ; *verh*, a girl, but *merhed*, girls. Taking into account the meaning of Vorganium, the distance indicated, and the character of the monument, we must look for the site of this city at a distance of rather more than seven English miles from the village of Kerscao, on the sea-coast, and on a Roman road. These conditions are fulfilled by the promontory of Saint Cava, on the right bank of the River Aber-Vrach. The distance of this place from the stone is the same as that marked on the inscription, and the ruins of a town have been recently discovered there. Its situation on a promontory agrees with the description of the Gallic Oppida in Cæsar, and may be compared with that of the capital of the Trinobantes on the peninsula where Colchester now stands.<sup>3</sup> Vorganium was at the termination of the Roman road which led from Vorgium (Carhaix), an important military station, to the north-western extremity of the province ; it crossed the mountains of Aré, passed near the town of Landiviseau, and then advanced towards the sea-coast in the direction of Plouguerneau. The course of this road is ascertained by the discovery of Roman remains in several localities along the line ; at la Feuillée, Creac'h-ar-Bleiz, Plouneventer, and Saint Frégant, tiles, fragments of Samian ware, and objects in other materials, have been found, besides numerous coins in gold, silver, and bronze. The circumstances I have mentioned would, considered singly, be insufficient to prove the site of Vorganium, but, taken collectively, they establish

<sup>3</sup> Merivale, "Romans under the Empire," vol. vi. p. 24, note 2. He mentions lines from the Colne to a little wooded stream called the Roman river. They

cut off a district twenty or thirty miles square, and seem to have been the ramparts of the British oppidum, Camulodunum.

almost with certainty the conclusion at which M. Le Men has arrived.

Another Roman inscription upon a column erected in the year A.D. 268, on the way from Nantes to Vannes, near Surzur, east of the Morbihan, though of little use for the purposes of topography, possesses a certain historical importance :—

IMP. CAES  
PIAVONIO  
VICTORINO  
PIO FELICI  
AVG.<sup>4</sup>

“To the Emperor Cæsar Piavonius Victorinus, pious, fortunate, Augustus.” Mongez, the author of the “*Iconographie Romaine*,” asserted that there were no testimonies to the sovereignty of Postumus and his successors, except those derived from medals and cameos; hence this monument is curious as supplying corroborative evidence of a different kind.<sup>5</sup> Victorinus was the associate of Postumus, an usurper who disturbed the peace of the Roman empire towards the close of the third century. He soon disappeared from the scene, but his mother Victoria—the Zenobia of the West—who succeeded him, and reigned for some time, was one of the most remarkable personages who have borne that illustrious name.

The third inscription which I have copied may be seen in the museum at Dinan, and belongs to the sepulchral class—

D.M.S.  
SILICIANA  
MIG DE DOMO AFRIKA  
EXIMIA PIETATE FILIVM SECVTA  
HIC SITA EST  
VIXIT AN LXV  
C. F. I. IANVARI  
VS FIL POSVIT.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription is fully described by Cayot Délandre, “*Le Morbihan, son Histoire et ses Monuments*,” p. 128. Dr. Alfred Fouquet, “*Des Monuments Celtiques et des Ruines Romaines dans le Morbihan*,” p. 72, says that traces of a Roman camp have been discovered in the neighbourhood.

<sup>5</sup> Mongez, “*Iconographie Romaine*,”

vol. iv. p. 11. Visconti, “*Icon. Rom.*” Pl. 58, No. 3, gives an engraving of a fine medal, on which the Emperor Victorinus is represented, taking by the hand a female kneeling on one knee. The legend, *RESTITVTORI GALLIARVM*, coincides with the discovery of the above-mentioned inscription in a *Gallie* province.

"Sacred to the divine Manes : Siliciana left her home in Africa, and followed her son with extraordinary affection ; she is buried here ; she lived sixty-five years. Her son, Julius Januarius, erected this memorial to the illustrious lady." We have here, in simple terms, a record of maternal love and filial piety. Roman monuments often speak only of war and conquest, but sometimes they supply proofs that this stern military people were not insensible to finer feelings, and that human nature, under different institutions, was the same in ancient as in modern times. We may also notice with what delicacy the mention of death—a sound of evil omen—is avoided ; the date of decease is not given, but the duration of life.<sup>6</sup>

Travelling from the site of Vorganium along the coast in a south-westerly direction, we come to Brest and the Bay of Douarnenez. In no part of the province do we meet with more frequent traces of the Romans ; on every water-course there are still to be seen the foundations of their buildings, and occasionally walls of considerable height. The beauty of the scenery doubtless induced them to erect their villas here. As they gazed on the blue waters, bold promontories, and numerous islands, they must have been reminded of another bay still more beautiful, surrounded by the terrestrial paradise of Campania, and associated with the glories of their history and literature.

The antiquities of this period in Morbihan are, as we might expect, more important than in Finistère, for they belong to the district which was the stronghold of the Veneti. Doubtless the invader felt it necessary to secure his acquisitions by a net-work of forts, camps, and roads that would prevent any combination amongst the recently conquered tribes, and thus render the recovery of their independence almost impossible. The archæological map accompanying Dr. Fouquet's book on Morbihan, shows that the views expressed by Cæsar were adopted by his successors.<sup>7</sup> The roads were in many cases carried along the boundaries of the Gallic states, and the army was posted in small detachments, so as to cover the whole extent of

<sup>6</sup> So in antique gems mortality is symbolized, not by the disgusting death's head and cross-bones, but by the actor removing the garland from his head, to denote that the drama of life is played

out.

<sup>7</sup> Cæsar, "*De Bello Gallico*," iii. 10. "*Partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.*"

the country. It is obvious, at first sight, that the chief military positions are the embouchure of the Étel, and the Gulf of Morbihan (little sea). Hence a fort was placed at Plouhinec to command the entrance of this river, and higher up dykes were constructed across its branches, making great pools that prevented access to the Roman entrenchments, just as, on a much larger scale, Ravenna was protected by surrounding marshes.<sup>8</sup> The principal Roman establishment was at Nostang, a few miles from Hennebont, renowned for its heroic defence by the Countess of Montfort, and it was supported according to the usual practice, by several smaller stations. These facts are proved by considerable ruins, *débris* of bricks, and fragments of pottery. M. de Keridec marks in his plan three pools, and states that there are several others, which formed, as it were, a second line of circumvallation, the system of defence being completed by advanced posts on the river. Here etymology comes to our aid. Whatever the former syllable of Nostang or Lostang may be, the latter is clearly the Latin *stagnum*; locus stagnorum seems a probable explanation. Again, the names of many families resident in the neighbourhood, point to a Roman origin, such as *Jubin*, from Gebuinus, *Le Lan*, from Lavinus or Launus, *Le Féé*, from Fides, *Emel*, from Armagilus.

If we proceed eastwards, Locmariaker and Vannes attract our notice; the former was the Dariorigum of the ancients, and still affords evidence that the Romans not only came here, but held the place for a long time in undisturbed possession, as there are remains of civil as well as military works, and of edifices erected for luxury and amusement. Here they built their fort on a hill overlooking the town and the entrance of the inland sea, selecting the most advantageous situation with that practical wisdom, of which we find so many striking instances in Hadrian's Wall.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Fouquet, in the year 1853, examined very carefully substructions in the court of a private house at Locmariaker. Six apartments were brought to light; a coating of soot and

<sup>8</sup> Gibbon, chap. xxx. vol. v. p. 201, ed. Milman. "The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass."

<sup>9</sup> For a parallel case compare Segedunum, Bruce, "Roman Wall," ed. 4th. p.

88. "The station at Wallsend occupies a site well adapted to military purposes. It stands on a bend of the river, formed by two of its longest reaches, and consequently commands a view of the stream for a great distance in both directions."

cement blackened with smoke gave signs of the hypocaust, and numerous pipes communicating with the central canal were indications of a bath that probably belonged to some public establishment. But at the eastern corner of the edifice a second brass coin was found, bearing the legend *CÆ. MAGNENTIVS AVG.* Unlike the rest of the building, this angle of the walls was made partly of stones, and iron cramps fastened them to the bricks, under which the coin was discovered. It seems as if the intention had been to provide additional security for the piece of money as a record of the date. Magnentius assumed the purple in A.D. 350, and for three years disputed the sovereignty of the Roman world with Constantius, the last surviving son of Constantine the Great. East of Locmariaker, on the north side of the Morbihan, are the remains of a Roman fort and villas erected under its shelter, which commanded the most picturesque views of the bay, so that here also the Romans combined enjoyment of the beauties of nature with a strong military position.

But there can be no doubt that Vannes exceeded in importance the stations already mentioned, though to a superficial observer this assertion may seem unfounded. The deficiency of proofs may be easily accounted for by the superior numbers and industry of the population in times nearer to our own. These have produced their usual effect in obliterating the vestiges of antiquity.<sup>1</sup> However, four portions of the Roman wall may still be seen in the ramparts, easily recognised by the rows of tiles placed at intervals; the *débris* of Roman pottery appear in the cemetery, and the enclosures of the fields are, in some cases, formed of cubical stones that came from a circus like that at Locmariaker. Notwithstanding the paucity of Roman remains at Vannes, we may rest assured that it was the capital of Venetia, as from this centre six roads radiated:—

I. To Locmariaker, along the north side of the Morbihan.

II. To Port Navalo, along its south side; a branch at a short distance from Vannes diverged to the east, was the

<sup>1</sup> Roach Smith, "Illustrations of Roman London," pp. 1-3. "As a rule we shall find that the prosperity of towns has been the most fatal cause of the loss of their ancient configuration, and of

their monuments." In this respect London and Paris may be contrasted with cities whose progress has been arrested, such as Trèves, Orange, and Fréjus.



line of communication with Portus Nannetum (Nantes), and in its course passed near the embouchure of the Vilaine.

III. To Blain, by Rieux. On this route we see how the Romans subjugated the country, and held it in their iron grasp. No less than twenty-five stations may be traced south of the river Arz, which runs nearly parallel to the road, and they are all identified by the discovery of money, tiles, votive columns, fragments of walls and pottery.

IV. To Rennes, Condate, a name which occurs in many parts of Gaul, whence we infer that the word had some significance. An examination of the map shows that the towns bearing this appellation are situated at the angle formed by the junction of two rivers. Condate is doubtless of Celtic origin, and means a *corner*; it reappears in the proper name Condé and the common noun *coin*.<sup>2</sup>

V. To Corseul, in a north-easterly direction; at Plaudren it bifurcated, and the western branch led to Vorgium (Carhaix). Near the latter road was the important station of Castennec, where the so-called Venus of Quinipily was discovered.<sup>3</sup> But it would rather seem to be a representation of *Isis*, for the stiffness of the figure resembles the Egyptian style, and the lappets of the headdress, extending to the bosom, are the same as we see in the statues of that goddess. It has been supposed, with great probability, that this image was the work of Moorish soldiers serving in the Roman army. Their presence in Brittany is known from the *Notitia*—the army list of the Empire—where we meet with *Præfectus militum Maurorum Osismiæcorum Osismiis*. This was in accordance with the policy of the Romans, who kept a province in subjection by troops drawn from a distance, and therefore not likely to make common cause with the natives. Here again there is a striking analogy with the antiquities in our own country. Aballaba, Watch-cross, occurs among the stations on the Wall of Hadrian; it is

<sup>2</sup> The ancient name of Nantes, *Condivinum*, or *Condivincum* (*Κονδιουινκον* in Ptolemy), is evidently akin to Condate, and contains the Celtic *Cond*, which appears in the Breton dialect as *Kon*. Cosne and Cognac are only varieties of this word. Condate occurs also in the map of Roman Britain, eighteen miles from Mancunium, Manchester, and is supposed to be the same as Kinderton.

See the Dictionary of Classical Geography, edited by Dr. William Smith, s. v. Condate.

<sup>3</sup> Cayot Délandre, pp. 389-402, describes this figure at great length. Compare his Album of Plates, Nos. 1 and 3. Its identification with *Isis* may be inferred by comparing it with plates cv. cxvi. in tome ii. part 2, of Montfaucon's "Antiquité Expliquée."

said to have been a colony of Moors, and "certainly the name sounds Moorish."<sup>4</sup> There is still extant an altar belonging to the same district, erected by Peregrinus, tribune of a cohort, who came from the province of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. The resemblance may be traced not only in the nationality of the soldiers, but also in their employment, for the museums and collections in the north of England furnish us with abundant examples of sculpture executed by the legionaries.<sup>5</sup> The Castennec above mentioned is a corruption of Castel-Noec or Noic, in which we have the Latin castellum; and the figure found there was called Groek-ar-Gouard, Femme de la Garde, an appellation that has reference to the fort at this place (probably the same as Sulis), of which the entrenchments are still visible. A farm there, named Coarde, also bears witness to the Roman occupation, and this is still more clearly proved by the lintel of the farmhouse consisting of part of a milestone inscribed to the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus.

South of Plaudren, the great number of camps is a proof of the complete organization of the Romans; north of that place their sagacity is made equally apparent by the absence of encampments—they were too wise to waste men, labour, and materials; accordingly they have left scarcely any traces in this barren and thinly-populated region. Midway between the roads to Carhaix and Corseul, we see forts at Crédin and Naizin, but too far distant from either to be useful in protecting those lines of communication; it is more likely that they were constructed to guard the neighbouring town of Reginea, whose name survives in the modern Régigny.<sup>6</sup>

VI. To Nostang on the Étel, the road was carried on thence in a straight line to Hennebont, and probably passed through Pontscorff and Quimperlé to Quimper, being a continuation of the great route from Nantes to Vannes, and

<sup>4</sup> Wright, "Roman, Celt, and Saxon," p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," pp. 195-200, especially p. 196. Several engravings of statues are given, and amongst them one of a fine figure of Victory standing upon a globe.

<sup>6</sup> The modern name Régigny shows the true pronunciation of the ancient name Reginea. The Latin G was not soft, as we say it, but like the Greek Γ,

hence it was interchanged with K or the hard sound of C. Bentley, "De Metris Terentianis," remarks, "nos hodie male pronuntiamus." Mistakes of this sort have not only led to errors in Prowody, but have caused us to lose sight of the true derivation of words. For the interchange of these letters and of U and V, referred to below, see Professor Key on the Alphabet.

nearly identical in its direction with the recently-constructed railway.

As Régigny shows us the true pronunciation of Reginea, so the Celtic name of Vannes, Guenet or Gwened, indicates that the Romans said *Ueneti* instead of Veneti.

Even the adjacent islands were not overlooked by the conquerors. Belle-Ile, opposite the bay of Quiberon, supplies, as evidence of their sojourn, coins of Julius Cæsar, Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, and a copper vase which Cayot Délandre has engraved. Lastly, excavations made near Carnac within the last two or three years by Mr. Milne have brought to light Gallic houses, whose construction followed the Roman model. No inscription has been found to determine the date, but only the name of the owner on a cup. The most curious feature in these edifices is the heating apparatus, which consists of five channels under the floor radiating from a central block or table, evidently an imitation of the hypocaust.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Milne has deposited the results of his excavations in the Hôtel des Voyageurs at Carnac. This gentleman makes his museum accessible to all visitors interested in these subjects, and enhances its value by his courtesy in affording explanations.

The public collections also in the province deserve the notice of the antiquary; that at Rennes may be studied with great advantage, for the catalogue by M. André describes each object accurately, states its provenance where known, and supplies apposite references to the best authorities; in fact, it is almost a manual of archæology.<sup>8</sup> Many of the antiquities have been imported from other countries, but some have a local interest, as they come from excavations in Brittany itself. For example, the bronze coins of the early Roman emperors here exhibited were found in the bed of the river Vilaine, during the operations undertaken to effect its canalization, just as many relics of ancient art have

<sup>7</sup> The combination of flat with semi-cylindrical tiles to form the roof of a Roman house is very well displayed in the museum at Carnac. We see there the tegulae and imbrices in juxtaposition just as they are mentioned together by Plautus, "*Mostellaria*," Act 1, sc. 2, vv. 27, 28, ed. Delph: "*Tempestas venit, confringit tegulas imbricesque.*" Compare Rich, Latin Dictionary, articles "*Te-*

*gula*" and "*Imbrex*" with the engravings.

<sup>8</sup> This "*Catalogue Raisonné*," which most truly answers to its name, is an 8vo vol. of 315 pages, and is sold at the nominal price of one franc. Those who are familiar with the writings of the earlier French antiquaries, such as Montfaucon and Caylus, will find it a useful accompaniment to their works.

been yielded up by our own river Thames.<sup>9</sup> Again, some bronze statuettes, a Minerva, and dancers male and female, sacrificial implements, a right hand, symbolic of the fidelity of the soldiers, as well as domestic utensils, were brought from Corseul (Curiosolites) near Dinan, a Roman station, where an octagonal tower of solid masonry and great height is still to be seen.

The museum at Vaunes is on a much smaller scale and of a very different character. Instead of being miscellaneous, it is exclusively local. Remains of the Gallo-Roman period—vases, mosaics, and medals—are deposited in the lower apartment, but the upper is devoted to pre-historic archæology. Though not large, the collection is unique in its importance, since it contains the treasures of the dolmens—celts, necklaces, amulets, etc.—well arranged in glass cases, so that the visitor can walk round them. The museum at Quimper, which has been recently organized by M. Le Men, archiviste of Finistère, occupies the basement of a building close to the Hôtel de Ville, and will abundantly reward careful study. Amongst its curiosities are cinerary urns and tessellated pavements from Carhaix (Vorgium), and pottery from the camp at Mont Frugy, which immediately overhangs the town of Quimper. We have here, also, a fine series of coins, Imperial and Gaulish; the former possess an historical value, as they correspond with the period of Roman domination. On the other hand the museum at Dinan, which ought to have been richly stored, as the town is so near Corseul, affords little instruction to the enquirer, for the objects are heaped together in confusion, the catalogue was compiled by a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with French, and the numbers in the cases do not correspond with those in the book.

It will hardly be out of place here to call attention to the grand collection of national antiquities at St. Germain, as one of the apartments is occupied by a model of the grotto at Gavr'inis, and many of the Breton dolmens and menhirs are reproduced on the scale of one-twentieth of the actual size.

The Roman monuments above mentioned have an im-

<sup>9</sup> Roach Smith, "Illustrations of Roman London," Frontispiece and Plates xv.-xix. The head of Hadrian and figures

of Apollo, Mercury, a priest or devotee of Cybele, Jupiter (?), and Atys, all in bronze, came from the bed of the Thames.

portant relation to the pre-historic antiquities. Mr. Fergusson says that "the Romans never really settled in Brittany," and that, consequently, the natives were not likely to copy their style of architecture. Hence he argues that there is nothing in the rude character of the megalithic remains inconsistent with his supposition that they are post-Roman.<sup>1</sup> I cannot help thinking that anyone who has travelled through the country with the eyes of an antiquary, or who has perused with care the writings of Cayot Délandre, Dr. Fouquet, Dr. de Closmadeuc, and M. Le Men, will come to a very different conclusion, for he will dispute the premises from which Mr. Fergusson has drawn his inference. We see in so many districts, and especially in those bordering on the ocean, such frequent traces both of Roman occupation and Gallic *imitation*, that it is very difficult to believe that the Armoricans continued down to the sixth century building in the same fashion as they did before the arrival of Julius Cæsar.<sup>2</sup> Absolute certainty in these enquiries cannot be attained, but only a high degree of probability; and in the absence of documentary evidence, we must consider the mode of construction and the contents of the edifices, which alike point to a *pre-Roman*, perhaps even *pre-Celtic* period.

Those dolmens, which have domical chambers, and in which the interstices between the large slabs are filled up with smaller stones, appear to belong to a later date than the rest.<sup>3</sup> On the same principle we may fairly suppose the

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> The facility with which the Gauls imitated other nations is seen in their coins as well as in their houses. For example, we find sometimes upon them the letter X, evidently derived from the Roman denarii. Nothing occurs more frequently in the Gaulish series than the type of the Macedonian stater, which may be traced through successive stages of deterioration till at last it becomes difficult to recognize the original. Similarly the rose on the beautiful drachmæ of Rhoda is converted into a cross with crescents between its arms. The Greek type of Victory flying above a horse spread as far as the Lemovices (Limoges). Rude copies of the Massaliot coins are engraved in "Hunter's Catalogue." As the English language is to a great extent

derived from Latin through French, so the early British coinage came, at least in many instances, from the Greek and Roman through the medium of the Gallic. Compare Evans, "Early British Coins," with Engravings by Fairholt; De Saulcy, "Lettres à M. A. De Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise," p. 277, &c., and plate i. "Revue Numismatique," 1867; Akerman, "Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul, and Britain," plates at the end of the volume. But the "Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule," published by the French Government, affords the best opportunities of studying the Gallic medals in connection with other monuments of the Celtic period.

<sup>3</sup> See the Rev. W. C. Lukis's Paper on the "Dolmens in Brittany," read before the International Congress of Prehistoric

dolmens to be posterior to the menhirs, as nothing can be more simple than the erection of a stone to serve as a trophy or sepulchral monument, while, on the other hand, a dolmen, even in its rudest form, implies some amount of architectural skill.<sup>4</sup> The remains at Carnac show no traces of sculpture, but those at Locmariaker and Gavrinis abound in curvilinear figures, representations of axes, etc.; hence we should be disposed to assign the former to an earlier date. However, it would not be reasonable to assert that less elaborate execution is an unfailing criterion of more remote antiquity, for it may have been caused by haste or other circumstances. So, in the classical period, the friezes of the Phigaleian temple are very inferior to those of the Parthenon, but they belong to the same epoch, and only show that sculpture had not advanced in all parts of Greece simultaneously.

On reviewing the controversy about rude stone monuments, it seems to me that both those who carry them back to the pre-historic age, and those who bring them down to Christian times, equally err in laying too much stress on *negative* evidence. Some of the learned French antiquaries, if they can find no trace of metal implements in a dolmen, leap to the conclusion that its builders were unacquainted with their use. Their opponents attribute to some post-Roman century any structure that is not mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers. In other words, if a thing is not found in some particular place, or noticed by certain authors, its non-existence during the period under discussion is immediately presumed. But the argument from absence or silence is a very weak one, and often easily refuted by facts. We might as well say that because in Greek literature painted vases only occur in five or six passages, they were seldom used by the ancients, whereas many thousands have been discovered, and in our museums of all antiques they are perhaps the most abundant.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Julius Cæsar,

Archæology at Norwich, 1868. It is illustrated by plans and sections. Mr. Lukis points out that the different forms of Dolmens indicate progress in constructive science, and that by this means their chronological order may be established, at least approximately.

<sup>4</sup> The proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 1st, 1876, contain remarks by Professor Hughes on

some pieces of flint and chalcedony from Carnac. In describing these he says that "the evidence, so far as it went, allowed the supposition that the menhirs ranged from palæolithic to neolithic times, but that the dolmens were not erected till well on in the later period."

<sup>5</sup> De Witte, "Études sur les Vases Peints," pp. 4, 5, gives six references, viz., to Aristophanes, Pindar, Strabo,

we can account for his not mentioning the alignements or pierres rangées at Carnac, without supposing that they did not exist when he flourished. The great Roman, accustomed to the magnificent buildings that adorned the capital of the world, would naturally pass by, as unworthy of notice, rows of shapeless stones reared by the indigenous Armoricans. Moreover, in his day, public attention had not been called to this class of objects by controversial pamphlets and scientific congresses. Mr. Fergusson endeavours to infer the date of the remains at Locmariaker by pointing out their similarity to the sculptures in the tumulus at New Grange, near Drogheda, of which he has determined the epoch, arguing chiefly from written evidence that appears to him clear and satisfactory.<sup>6</sup> But those who have studied the early history of Ireland know that it is enveloped in a thick mist of fables and contradictions, and that it therefore affords a very uncertain basis for conclusions with respect to chronology.

Personal inspection of many dolmens has convinced me that Mr. Lukis is correct in the view he has expressed in opposition to Mr. Fergusson, viz., that the Breton dolmens were never originally free standing; for I have observed that where they are uncovered at present, some vestiges of the once enclosing mound may often be detected.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, while I admit the great value of Mr. Lukis's "Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany," I cannot agree with his recommendation that tourists should make Auray their head quarters. As the objects of interest in the immediate neighbourhood of Carnac are very numerous and most important, they would do well to stay a few days in that village if they wish to start fresh for their explorations. Fairly good accommodation may be obtained at the Hôtel des Voyageurs. I mention this because most travellers labour under the delusion that it is impossible to pass a night there.

Suetonius, Alcaeus, and Demosthenes, but some of these are dubious. On the other hand M. Charles Lenormant reckoned at fifty thousand the number of painted vases discovered in the last two centuries. M. de Witte very naturally remarks, "Contraste étrange! Si d'un côté cette classe de monuments est si nombreuse, de l'autre, les écrivains de l'antiquité ont à peine parlé des vases peints."

<sup>6</sup> Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," pp. 369, 370. "The foliage at New Grange and that at the allée—now, I I fear, destroyed—at Locmariaker are evidently of one style, but still admit of a certain latitude of date. . . . I believe that Mané-er-H'roëk and Mané-Lud may more probably range with New Grange and Howth." Compare pp. 212, 213.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. W. C. Lukis on "Rude Stone Monuments," 1875.

An English antiquary who visits Brittany can hardly refrain from comparing the objects he sees there with similar monuments in his own country. For the most part the French menhirs should be classed with the circles at Avebury, which are evidently earlier than the trilithons at Stonehenge. In the latter case the prolonged continuity of the imposts upon the vertical stones evinces grandeur of design, while the arrangement of mortices and tenons, by which they are fitted together, is an equally striking proof of skill in construction. Without exposing ourselves to the accusation of gratifying national vanity, we may fairly boast that our ancestors have reared on Salisbury Plain a structure of greater height and finer proportions than any that our neighbours can show.

In conclusion, may I be allowed for one moment to allude to some special advantages connected with our present subject? They are moral and social as well as intellectual. An investigation of the antiquities of Brittany brings the traveller in contact with a people of simple character and attractive manners, as yet uncorrupted by the stream of idle and prodigal tourists; and it gives him, by personal communication, opportunities of appreciating the learning of the local antiquaries, who have so successfully elucidated the monuments of their native province. He feels at a loss whether he should more admire their acute intelligence and clear expression, or the kindness that prompts them to share with a stranger the fruits of their laborious researches. The interchange of commodities between England and France is a source of countless benefits to both, but the interchange of ideas in the pursuit of knowledge is a reciprocity of a nobler kind, and will doubtless contribute much towards making our alliance close and permanent.

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NOTE.—In compiling this account of the Roman antiquities of Brittany I have been chiefly indebted to the works of Cayot Délandre and Fouquet quoted above, and Le Men's "*Études Historiques sur le Finistère*. To the student of the prehistoric antiquities some knowledge of the Celtic language is almost necessary. The following books will be found useful:—"Grammaire Française-Bretonne," par J. Guillemet; "Manuel Breton Français," par A. Guyot-Jomard; and Le Gonidec's "*Vocabulaire Breton-Français and Français-Breton*."



## NOTES ON BRASSES IN MORLEY CHURCH, NEAR DERBY.

By C. S. GREAVES, Esq., Q.C.

MORLEY is about four miles from Derby, on the north-east: the church and rectory stand on very high ground, and command a very wide prospect.

Leaving the road through the village, you enter at the corner of the grounds of the rectory, and just on the right hand the pillar of an ancient cross stands on the top of some stone steps. It is not supposed that this cross was ever in the churchyard. The grounds are studded with fine ornamental trees, and there is no visible boundary between them and the churchyard. The church and parsonage are hidden from each other by a belt of trees and shrubs. A prettier place altogether could hardly be found.

The church itself is a very handsome building, and, on entering it, an abundance of objects of antiquarian interest strike the eye. There are monuments of almost every kind, from the fourteenth century to the present time; beautiful painted windows; encaustic tiles adorned with arms and other emblems, and the brasses from which the rubbings here exhibited were taken. The memorials are in a very perfect condition, considering the long periods during which some of them have endured. This may be owing to the fact that Morley has belonged to the same family from before the date of the earliest monument. A family, who took their name from the place, owned it in the fourteenth century, and it has been carried from them successively by heiresses into the families of Stathum, Sacheverell, Pole, Sitwell, Wilmot, Osborne, and Bateman.

Some of the painted windows came from Dale Abbey on its dissolution in 1539, and had become in a defective state in 1847, when they were restored at the expense of Mr. T. O. Bateman. In one window there is the representation of the legendary history of Sir Robert and the deer, which rests on a tradition that on a dispute between the Canons of Dale Abbey and the keepers of the forest, the king granted to the Canons as much land as, between two suns, could be encircled with a plough drawn by stags, which had been caught in the forest, *Lys. Derb. ccxxii*. The subject of another window is the history of the Cross, beginning with its construction, and ending with its exaltation.

The earliest brass is dated in 1403, and invokes prayers for the souls of Godithe de Stathum and Richard her son. As Godithe did not die till 1418, it is remarkable that the prayers should be asked for the souls of both; for the ordinary custom when a person was living was to ask for prayers for his health (*salute*), or his good state, prosperity, or the like. This distinction is fully confirmed by the inscription on the monu-

ment to Sir Gervase Clifton which relates to his second wife, who survived him : *pro cuius Agnetis prosperitate dum vixerit, et pro cuius animâ cum ab hac luce migraverit, speciales ordinantur orationes.* 1 Coll. Baronet. 89.

The brass states that the mother and son caused the belfry and church to be built ; but the next brass attributes the building of both to the mother only, and says it was a rebuilding (*de novo construxit*).

The first brass is imperfect, and what remains runs thus :

*Orate pro animabus Godithe de Stathum, domine de Morley,  
Ricardi filii sui, qui campanile istud et ecclesiam fieri fecerunt,  
quibus tenentur. Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC tercio.*

A part of the left end of the brass is broken off, and a word lost at the beginning of both the second and third lines. It is plain that *et* is the word lost at the beginning of the second line, but it is doubtful what is the word missing at the beginning of the third line. However, I am disposed to think that it is *pro* ; and that the meaning is that the mother and son were bound to the repair of the church. Morley was held in 1253 by the Abbot of Chester, under Hugh, Earl of Chester ; and it may well have been granted by the abbot to the Morleys upon condition that they should repair the church. It may well be that the original liability of a rector to repair the chancel is founded on his tenure of the glebe lands. Lands have been granted to abbeys on condition of their repairing bridges. This was the case of Burton Bridge, and it has been repaired by the grantees of the lands of Burton Abbey till the present day. Again, I have the copy of a record of a Court Baron, which states that the jury "*dicunt quod Rectores ecclesiæ parochialis de Derley non mundaverunt nec fecerunt altam viam regiam, &c.*"; which shows that those who held church lands might be liable to repair highways. And I can see no reason why land might not be granted on condition that the grantee and his heirs should repair a church ; and it is highly probable that an abbot or religious house should grant land on such a condition.<sup>1</sup>

Three of the brasses deserve particular attention. The brass of John Stathum, who died in 1454, has the figure of St. Christopher above his and his wife's effigy, with the words *Sancte Christofore, ora pro nobis*, proceeding from both. The brass of Thomas Stathum, who died in 1470, has the figure of St. Ann over the head of his first wife, with the words *Sancta Anna, ora pro nobis* ; the figure of the Virgin and Child over the head of the second wife, with the words *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* ; and the figure of St. Christopher over himself, with the words *Sancte Christofore, ora pro nobis*. Lastly, the brass of John Sacheverell, who was slain at Bosworth in 1485, has the figure of St. Christopher over himself and his wife, with the words *Sancte Christofore, ora pro nobis*. In each case St. Christopher is represented as wading through water, and holding a rude staff, by which he supports himself, and he carries a child on his shoulders, and the child holds a globe with a cross in his left hand, whilst his right is pointing towards heaven. Whether such a person as St. Christopher ever lived is a matter of doubt, but

<sup>1</sup> A terrier of Bradley, Derbyshire, in 1698, states that the Lord of the Manor is bound to repair one part of the church-

yard wall, the rector another, and the inhabitants the rest.

there are several legends of him varying in particulars. The best we have seen is that given by Mrs. Jameson. Possessed of more than ordinary strength and stature, in his youth he determined that he would serve no one but the most powerful. Accordingly, he first entered into the service of the monarch, who was then most celebrated for power. Soon, however, he perceived that whenever the name of Satan was mentioned the monarch crossed himself. His suspicions being aroused, he questioned the monarch, and learned that he feared Satan; whereon he quitted his service, and sought for Satan and entered his service. One day, as they were journeying along a road, he saw a cross, and thereupon Satan turned out of the way and avoided it, and being questioned by St. Christopher he admitted that he was afraid, because it was the emblem of Christ, who had conquered him; and thereon St. Christopher went in search of Christ and found a hermit, who dwelt by a river which was very difficult to ford, and the hermit persuaded him that he would best serve Christ by carrying pilgrims over the stream. This he did for some time, and one night a child sought to be carried over, and St. Christopher assented; but he found that as he waded through the stream the child grew so much heavier that he barely reached the opposite bank, when he told the child that the pressure would not have been greater if he had carried the whole world; on which the child told him that he himself carried the sins of the whole world, and therefore it was no marvel that he was so heavy to carry. St. Christopher then became the faithful servant of the Saviour, and assumed that name from his having borne Christ across the river. Hence it is that St. Christopher is represented in the manner apparent on these brasses. His figure has frequently been placed on the walls of churches opposite to the entrance door, as there was a prevalent opinion that whoever looked upon it would meet with no ill fortune on that day. Here we have the figure on these brasses all belonging to the same family, and this raises the question whether he may not have been considered as the patron saint of this family. Only one other instance has been found of the same figure on a brass. This is in the little church of St. Mary, at Wick, about a mile from Winchester, and is exactly similar; it is over an inscription, but with no reference to it; the cross is to William Complyn and his wife. He died in 1487, and gave to the dedication of the church, 40*s.*; to make new bells, £10; to the hallowing of the greatest bell, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and for the testimonials of the dedication, 6*s.* 8*d.*<sup>2</sup>

At our June meeting, Mr. Baily exhibited a drawing of a window, in which the figure of St. Edward the Confessor was represented with his feet resting on the top of an altar, and an ecclesiastic on his knees before the altar, with the words "Pray for the soul of the Abbot of Bury," in Latin. The brass of John Stathum, who died in 1454, represents him and his wife kneeling face to face with their hands raised towards the figure of St. Christopher, which is above them; and the brass of John Sacheverell, who was slain at Bosworth, has a similar representation on it. But the brass of Thomas Stathum, who died in 1470, represents him and his two wives at full length, with their hands joined on their breasts. The former representations seem to be the more appropriate.

Henry Stathum, who died in 1481, married three wives—Anne, daughter

<sup>2</sup> An engraving of this figure of St. Christopher is given in Haines' "Manual of Monumental Brasses."

of Thomas Bothe ; Elizabeth, daughter of Giles St. Low ; and Margaret, daughter of John Stanhop. The words are clearly Egidii Seyntlow, though hitherto they seem to have been misread by several authors. In 3 Collins' Peer, 301, it is stated that John de Stanhope had " a daughter, Margaret, wife of Giles St. Low ; also the third wife of Henry Stathum, of Morley." At first sight, it seems remarkable that Henry Stathum should have married the widow of his father-in-law ; but it may be that Margaret was the daughter of St. Low's first wife. A similar case is given in Ley's *Cheshire*, p. 253, and accounted for in the same manner.

## Original Documents.

**"CHARGES OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE FRANCIS EARLE OF BEDFORD FOR THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH IN THE COVEN GARDEN BEGUNNE THE 5th OF JULY, 1631." (A small book of 44 pages of paper.)**

Communicated by the Rev. J. STEWART.

THIS is the heading of an account of the cost of building the church of St. Paul's, at the south-west end of Covent Garden, where it was erected by Inigo Jones, when the site of the present market was "an airy square enclosed by rails."

The document has been kindly lent for the inspection of the Institute, by Thomas J. Wing, Esq.

The structure was destroyed by fire on the 17th September, 1795, and very little of the original work is left ; but the accounts have still some interest, inasmuch as they contain examples of early technical terms used sometimes in their original sense. The following extracts will show how tenaciously professional phraseology is preserved :

ffor Lx. barlings. vii.

ffor 60 beme sparrs. 45s.

ffor making a fflower to draw out the Tracerie of one of the great collomes. 8*li*. 1*s*. 10*d*.

The paveing of the Portico with Mitchells square sett wise 1107 foote 5 inches at 8*s*. the foote. . . .

ffor 13 Wainscotts and Clobords for the pannells middle peeres and belexions for both the great doores 8*li*. 9*s*. 8*d*.

ffor the Joyners worcke of the Pullpitt with the Type and Collomes to support it. . .

To Zachariah Tailor for the carveing worke on the bodye of the Pullpitt on the Cornishments on the inside & outside of the Tipe the Pedistalls & Capitalls of the Collomes . . . .

. . for a front of white Marble with the Pedistalls of Portland stone with a cover of copper inricht with Imbossments & carveing 30*li*.

To Thomas Styles for setting in and youlting with Lead the hookes for the doores at the East end of the Church.

ffor putting up the moulding about the bemes & Purlemes on the Plauceire of the Roufe viij*li*.

ffor setting on the hookes of the Roufe x*s*.

To Erasmus Marsh for 18 Stirrops & 36 boults & forelocks for the butments of the Roufe. . . .

ffor 30 boultes forelocks and collers for fastening the ende of the beames & principalls together. . . .

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 7, 1876.

C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, V.-P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

In the absence of the author, Mr. RANKING read a memoir by Mr. J. T. Burgess, "On Recent Archæological Discoveries in Warwickshire," illustrated by plans, which arrived while the paper was being read, and by a collection of Anglo-Saxon ornaments and other objects. Mr. Soden-Smith made some remarks on the art workmanship of many of these, from which it appeared that their type was not specially distinctive. It was reported that the gold and silver articles which had been found had been claimed as Treasure-trove by her Majesty's Treasury. The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Burgess for his paper, which will appear in a future portion of the Journal.

The CHAIRMAN read Mr. S. T. Baxter's paper "On Some Lombardic Gold Ornaments found at Chiusi" (printed at page 103). A photograph of the tomb was exhibited, and the subject elicited some pertinent observations from Mr. Soden-Smith. The thanks of the meeting were voted for this interesting contribution to Tuscan archæology.

The CHAIRMAN then read some observations of his own "On a Key-like Gold Finger Ring of the Sixth or Seventh Century, found at Marzabotto" (printed at page 111), in the possession of Mr. Baxter, and exhibited by him. The thanks of the meeting were returned for this communication.

The following notes on Sorbiodunum were communicated by Mr. C. ROACH SMITH in a letter to Mr. Burt :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—Among the earlier ancient remains which have as yet escaped the indiscriminate levelling of cupidity and ignorance stands proudly eminent the mighty earthworks popularly known as *Old Sarum*, and accepted by antiquaries as *Sorbiodunum*. Like everything supremely great and excellent, it becomes the more impressive the more it is visited and studied. I remarked the other day to my friend and colleague, C. Warne, that a very recent and hasty visit had more than ever convinced me of the stupendous character of the great enclosing vallum. He confirmingly drew comparison with other earthworks in the south and west, adding that it exceeded even Maiden Castle, which, as you know, has been of late explored with such ability ; but nowhere so satisfactorily as in his own 'Ancient Dorset.' This great Celtic *oppidum* was occupied by the Romans. In the Itinerary of Antoninus it stands as *Sorbiodunum*, midway between *Calleva* (Silchester) and *Isca* (Exeter).

But it has long been a matter of surprise, considering the position of the place, that no traces of Roman masonry are apparent. It may be suggested that the extraordinary strength of the British earthworks would render additional buildings unnecessary. Still, some evidence of Roman tenure seemed indispensable, and nowhere did this seem visible. I had visited Old Sarum twice without being able to detect Roman remains of any kind. On my third visit, a few years since, I was pleased to find that I had, I suppose from the extent of the place, overlooked a very fine fragment of a Roman wall.

"Sir R. C. Hoare, in his 'History of Wiltshire,' Part I., p. 223, says, 'We cannot trace any vestiges of that form of castrametation which was usually adopted by them (the Romans). It is possible that he had entirely overlooked this fine fragment. Stukeley, however, did perceive it; and it appears in the plan given in his 'Itinerarium Curiosum,' at p. 182, where he gives the result of a careful examination of the entire works; and states that it is part of a wall which surrounded the entire area of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  acres; and he marks the spots where he saw, or supposed he saw, foundations of towers. But, instead of this mass of masonry being portion of such a wall, I submit that it is far more likely to have belonged to the outward side of a small *castrum*, within which was built the church or cathedral, the outlines of which were visible to Stukeley, and are laid down in his plan. Beyond this, I cannot at present advance. The spade and pickaxe intelligently guided can alone determine whether I or our painstaking, but often too imaginative, predecessors have taken the more correct conclusion as to the origin of the subject of this communication. I have ventured to ask the aid of Messrs. Blackmore and Stevens, of Salisbury, to whom archæology and general science are so deeply indebted, to consult the adjacent soil, and obtain a response decisive, if not satisfactory.

"Very truly yours,  
"C. ROACH SMITH."

*Stroud, April 3rd, 1876.*

#### **Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.**

By the Rev. H. BROMFIELD.—A British sword, of the date of the Roman occupation, found, together with human bones, about fourteen years ago on the Cotswold Hills, near Broadway, less than a foot below the surface.

By Mr. P. HARRISON.—Some pieces of chalk from the lately-opened pits at Cissbury, on which were scorings and marks supposed to be of very early date, but so indefinite as to prevent any information being gained respecting their meaning.

By Mr. SCHALLELN.—A sculptured bas-relief, 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. and 4 in. thick, in oolitic limestone, found three years ago in excavating for deep foundations at Broadwall, Lambeth. It represented a figure of a chief attired and armed as if for the chase, with certain attributes of costume of a non-European character, such as a deep fringe round the loins, and strings of beads on the neck, arms, and legs. The spot where it was found was formerly a bog, and it is conjectured that it may have formed part of the cargo of a vessel wrecked on the spot. It was probably an American emblematic work of the seventeenth century.

By the Messrs. PEARSON.—Four oval chargers, said to be of the sixteenth century, but which were pronounced to be quite modern, and probably manufactured at Ghent.

By Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.—Two fragments of MS. Grayles, both of Salisbury use, and of the latter half of the fifteenth century. The first had formed part of a very fine book 18"  $\times$  13", well written and illuminated, but with no miniatures remaining. It consists of four pieces, in good condition, except that some leaves have the margins cut—first, a quire of eight leaves complete contains the services from the First Sunday after Trinity to the Sunday next before Advent; second, the outside sheet of a quire with services for Ember Week in September, and for the octave of the dedication of a church; third, a quire of eight leaves, containing the fixed parts of the service from the *Kyrie* to the *Agnus*; and fourth, a quire of eight leaves, of which the first has been cut away, containing the greater part of the *commune sanctorum*. This MS. bears marks of having been in use during the fifteen years which intervened between the breach with the See of Rome and the adoption of vernacular services by the English Church in 1549. In the first sequence *unius Apostoli*, the verse "*Antiochus et Remus concedunt tibi regni solium*" has the word *regni* carefully erased, and *Sacerdotii* written over. The next sequence has similarly *unus* substituted for *princeps* in the verse "*quorum princeps per crucem scandit Petrus alta poli culmina*." The other fragment is of thirteen, not quite consecutive leaves 14"  $\times$  10½". It is without illuminations, and contains parts of the *propria* and *commune Sanctorum*; it has been damaged by damp and worm, but has no alteration in the text.

By the Rev. EDWIN G. JARVIS.—A Deed of Protection to Bridget Hurst and others, under a commission from the Marquis of Newcastle while in command of the Parliamentary forces, dated 1643. This document was found in the thatch of a cottage at Overington, near Sleaford.

May 5, 1876.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A., in the Chair.

A memoir, by the Hon. W. O. STANLEY, was read by Mr. Burt, giving the results of more recent discoveries at Porth Dafarch, in Holyhead Island. Some investigations of a Tumulus had been made there in 1848 (see page 92), and further excavations were carried out in October 1875. They brought to light evidences of an early sepulchral deposit, in which burial and cremation had been united, and beneath these sepulchral remains was found one of the "hut-circle" habitations, of which many exist upon the neighbouring mountain. This interesting communication is printed at page 129.

In the absence of the author, Mr. RANKING read a memoir by Mr. C. W. King, "On Stella's Decem Puellæ," in illustration of which subject Mr. Franks sent a solid gold ring bearing the name ISATVS. This paper is printed at page 144. Cordial votes of thanks were passed to the authors of the above memoirs.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON.—Four silver chalices for a Scotch Presbyterian community at Campheir, or Veere, in the Island of Walcheren, in the Province of Zealand. These chalices were about seven inches high; they appear to have been made in the Netherlands,



and were Gothic in form and style. On the bases are inscriptions in bad Latin and English, surrounding wreaths containing sheaves of arrows, to the effect that these "Coups" were presented in 1600. Around the arrows is inscribed : "Brotherlie unitie is good and pleasant." The hall marks consist of a double eagle, a capital E, and an animal crowned.

By Mr. PAPILLON.—A small ivory carving of a knight, found at Lexden, near Colchester. It was compared by Mr. Burt to a bronze in the "British Room" at the British Museum, about the same size, and similarly armed.



Ivory Carving found at Lexden.

By Mr. FORTNUM.—A portion of the white monastic habit of Savonarola. The exhibitor gave an account of this undoubted relic of the great Italian reformer, as well as of many other things belonging to him.

# Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1875.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1875				148	19	2
" " in House				9	9	0
" " in Petty Cash				6	12	4
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance	435	15	0	165	0	6
Entrance Fees	43	3	0			
" Life Contributions	42	0	0			
" Sale of Publications, etc.	57	5	11			
" Extra copies, postage, etc.	8	15	6			
Miscellaneous Receipts:				388	19	5
Subscription to Notices and Removal Fund						
Investment Account, valued at				9	7	0
Interest on Investment £220 New 3 per Cent.				209	5	0
Receipts on account of Canterbury Meeting	93	19	0	6	11	0
per Messrs. Coutts	56	2	4			
" " " "	5	0	0	135	1	4

£1107 4 3

### EXPENDITURE

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:				140	10	0
Engraving for Journal				187	8	1
To Bradbury & Co. (printing)				8	7	6
W. H. Alnutt				16	7	0
G. F. Tupper				10	0	0
Spencer & Co.						
Library Account:				357	12	7
Barthes & Lowell						
House Expenses:				1	17	0
Rent of Apartments, one year						
Secretary's Salary				155	0	0
J. Burtt, Esq., editing Journal and Index				90	0	0
Partridge and Cooper, stationery				4	8	0
Draft stamps				0	2	0
Sir John Maclean (expenses connected with the Exeter Chain)				10	10	0
W. T. Nixon (painting staircase, etc.)				12	12	3
Petty Cash Account:				393	12	3
Messenger, Attendance, Washing, etc.				45	7	11½
Postage stamps, and delivery of Journal				40	17	4
Fire Insurance				2	5	0
Gas				1	8	1
Cabs, omnibuses, and portage				5	13	7
Carriage of parcels, bookbinding, etc.				8	3	0½
Travelling expenses, Mr. Burtt				7	13	6
Stationery for office				0	13	6
Special, not included in the above				15	17	2½
Investment Account, valued at				192	18	2½
" Balance in Bank, 31st Dec. 1875				209	5	0
" " in House				6	0	0
" " Petty Cash				7	14	1½
				52	19	2½
				£1107	4	3

Audited and found correct, } H. S. MILMAN  
 3rd, 6th July, 1876. } J. FARNLEY LENNARD } *Auditors.*

Presented to the London Meeting of Members, 14th July, 1876, approved and passed.  
 (Signed) J. SIBBALD D. SCOTT, *Chairman.*



### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

**THE RECUMBENT EFFIGIES IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.** By ALBERT HARTSHORNE. A series of Photographs from 128 Scale Drawings, by the Author, with Descriptions. (London : Basil Montagu Pickering, 196, Piccadilly.)

THE hand of the restorer has for some years past been a power in the land. It is a matter of doubt, however, whether the doing of too much in the shape of restoration is equivalent to such total neglect of grand historical remains as we see too manifestly exhibited. Well indeed may the intelligent fury of the archæologist be roused when through ignorance, or what is perhaps worse, monuments of bygone worthies are left to all the destructive influences of time, or when they are shifted from corner to corner, and in some instances actually serve the basest uses. Thus, we have seen a fine altar-tomb, with the effigies of a knight and his lady recumbent thereon, moved from its proper situation to a dark, dismal corner of the church, where the scholars of the Sunday school were in the weekly custom of thumping the delicate alabaster tracery with their hobnailed boots. Again, a brass bearing date 1387 has been drawn from the memorial to which it belongs, and has been made to do duty as the support of the altar table. From the remarks in his preface to his fine work, Mr. Hartshorne is acutely sensitive to the really harsh measures so constantly accompanying restoration. He exults in the fact that Northamptonshire is possessed of a large number of monumental effigies, both ecclesiastical and military, and that so many of them are in a sound condition. The work has been very carefully produced and published in eight parts. There is an appendix in the last part, a chronological index, and an index of persons and arms and names of places. The effigies were drawn in pencil on the spot to a scale of an inch and a half to the foot. Then the drawings were subsequently done in ink and photographed by the carbon process. Interspersed with the figures are details, such as portions of armour showing certain peculiarities of arrangement, as may be witnessed in the Sight-Hole of the Tilting-Helme belonging to the effigy of Ralph Greene, who died in 1419, and the Gads or gadlings on left gauntlet in the same choice example of fine memorial sculpture. All these details are copied full size and their introduction is of great service in enabling the archæologist to compare such singularities one with the other. Students in sculpture will be charmed with the effigy of Sir John Swinford, who died in 1371, the figure being in so good a state of preservation. The collar of S.S., which forms part of the costume, is most interesting as being possibly the earliest example of the ornament to be met with. The figure, which is to be seen in Spratton Church, bears some resemblance to that of Hewnel Landschaden, a German knight, whose monument, erected in 1377, is one of the many

which adorn the church of Neckarsteinach, near Heidelberg. The recumbent form of Sir Robert de Vere, at Sudborough, is the earliest memorial of a military worthy in this volume, it would seem to be in tolerable condition, but yields in this respect to that of Sir David de Esseby, at Castle Ashby, which bears date about nineteen years later on. Its likeness to the effigy in Salisbury Cathedral, attributed to William Longespee the Younger, who died in 1250, is properly noticed. A still more remarkable figure is that of Sir John de Lyons in the church at Warkworth, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century. This monument is rich in its peculiar fashions, of which the cyclas is one of the most remarkable, only eleven other examples occurring in this country, those of Sir John d'Abernoun, Stoke d'Abernoun, Surrey, and Humphrey de Bohun being amongst them. As a matter of course the details of this wondrously fine piece of sculpture receive the attention of Mr. Hartahorne, who has given no less than seven portions of the costume as seen on the knight's figure. These consist of the curious arrangement of spur-straps on outside of the right foot, another on inside of left foot, the quaint lion-sejant, preventing the shield from pressing the body, the cup elbow-guard and disc in the form of a lion's head, and the lacing of the cyclas over Haketon and Habergeon together with a part of the Baudric and Misericorde. This latter will strike every artist as well as antiquary by the beauty of its decoration and the correspondence it presents with other parts of the ornamentation so cleverly arranged in the genouillères, the pommel of the sword, &c. To enlarge farther on the workmanship exhibited in this specimen, or indeed to pursue a more extended research into the contents of this book would be identically the same thing as reproducing it in extenso. Any work which affords an insight into the likeness in any shape of individuals who were celebrated in their day as ecclesiastics, statesmen, or warriors, deserves careful inspection; many points of archæological value are certain to turn up in elucidation of some disputed question or another. In the appendix there is a notice of Nicholas Stone, who was master mason to King Charles I., at the wages and fee of twelve pence a day, and who was engaged to work at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, and at Windsor Castle. Extracts from his pocket-book are given, in which the record of memorials executed by him, and the prices paid for the same, are enumerated. Besides this, the description of the revels at Westminster, in the reign of King Henry VIII., drawn up at the King's order, by Richard Gibson, give a thorough knowledge of the cost of the traps and suits worn by the lords and ladies of the court. Targets were cheap, being paid and beaten by painter's craft with fine gold and bought on the occasion for four shillings the pair, whilst ostrich feathers, for the bonnets of the king and lords, were purchased for twelve pence each. The interesting antiquarian mystery, yet waiting for solution, the Collar of S.S., is allowed a place in these pages, no less than fourteen examples appearing in one of the plates of details. The author gives as an idea, that the mystic letters conveyed some definite religious sentiment, adducing in token thereof the fact that church vestments were frequently powdered with Ss for Sanctus. The letters, whatever they may mean, have been worn, with a difference, from the fourteenth century to the present day. Henry V. exhorted those of his train who were not noble to demean themselves

well at the Battle of Agincourt and that "il leur donna congé de porter un collier, semé de lettres S. de son ordre." The illustrations which accompany this account show a certain arbitrary arrangement of the letters worth notice. But for all further particulars on this subject and on the effigies themselves, which render the county of Northamptonshire what may be called monumentally famous, the reader is referred to the book in which they have been so exhaustively represented.

W. B.

**A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE BRONZES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM, with an Introductory Notice by C. DEBURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.** (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

To one who so thoroughly understood what he was about as the author of this large volume, the work involved in its production must have been a real labour of love. The catalogue itself shows a widespread acquaintance with the early industries of the grand school of Florentine art as well as those later workmanships achieved in Germany and Flanders. A spirit of artistic zeal is manifest in minor details. The exquisite beauty of the Greek sculptures, as shown in such marvellous specimens as have been preserved to us, has been evidently recognised by the author, who has given, under the name of an introduction, a history of bronze, commencing with the composition of this substance, the fashioning and manipulation thereof, its use in pre-historic times, also in sculpture by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Italians, &c. The great works in bronze which were produced from the chisel of Pheidias and his pupils together with fine examples of other developments of the highest period of Grecian sculpture are noted in succession. The Roman art as displayed after the time of Augustus when it was made subservient to architectural decoration and portraiture, the bronzes belonging to the Mediæval and Renaissance revival are referred to in succession. Donatello, the great sculptor of the revival, is well represented at the South Kensington Museum by the Martelli Mirror, a plate of which may be inspected in the body of the catalogue. The works of Andrea Cione di Michele, otherwise Verocchio, a pupil of Donatello, are celebrated for their minute and highly finished execution. A specimen in the museum may fairly be taken as one of his best, the details showing great carefulness in the completion of details. It is well that a noble example of the art of Pitero Torrigiano is preserved in this country. The magnificent tomb of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey, has many notable features, the recumbent figures of King Henry and his Queen Elizabeth are admirably wrought in bronze, whilst the memorial, also in the same material, to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, likewise in the Abbey, is generally ascribed to the same crafty worker. The decline of art in Italy speedily followed on the advent of the great Michel Angelo, no bronze work of his remains to attest his skill. Of the daring Florentine, Benvenuto Cellini, who flourished 1500—1571, some distinctively important productions may be seen—his chef d'œuvre, the grand Perseus and Medusa, on the attainment of which he expended much feverish anxiety and time. In the somewhat inflated but graphic history which relates the casting of this fine bronze, as

described in the *Vita di Cellini*, written by himself, we learn many curious particulars. The enthusiasm of the artist crops up in full. He dreads the tardy fusing of the metal. "E veduto che il metallo non correva con quella prestezza ch'ei solea fare, conosciuto che la causa forse era per essersi consumata la lega per virtù di quel terribil fuoco, io feci pigliare tutti i mia piatti e scodelle e tondi di stagno, i quali erano in circa a dugento, e a uno a uno io gli mettevo dinanzi ai mia canali, e parte ne feci gittare drento nella fornace; di modo che, veduto ognuno che'l mio bronzo s'era benissimo fatto liquido e che la mia forma si empieva tutti animosamente e lieti mi aiutavano e ubbi divano." If not written in "very choice Italian" the account is decidedly highly dramatic and glows with sincere zeal and earnestness. The bronze sculpture in Germany occupies the reader's attention in a separate chapter. Allusion is of course made to the bronze monument erected to the Emperor Maximilian in the Palace Church at Innsbruck. There follows on the sculpture of the French school, that of Flanders, the Netherlands and Spain, the works of the various masters receiving adequate attention, until English art is touched upon. It is an agreeable fact to know that although the hand of the destroyer has done sad mischief with incised brasses, so large a number as 4,000 are still preserved in various parts of England. Many of these are superb examples of brass engraving. Details such as those in the memorial to Thomas Delamere, Abbot of St. Alban's, circa 1396, and in those to Sir John d'Aubernoun, in Stoke d'Aubernoun Church, Surrey, are most valuable as affording an exact knowledge of the ecclesiastical and military costumes of their period. Mention is made of the bronze effigies of Master Torell or Torel, whose origin has been the subject of some dispute, certain writers inferring, from the excessive beauty of his designs, that his birth was Italian, though lands were held by a family of the name as stated in *Doomsday Book*. The chronicle of English sculptors and bronzists is brought down to the present day. At page 200 is an error, the only one to be detected readily, the prefix Sir Charles being used instead of Sir Edwin as applied to the modeller of the couching lions in Trafalgar Square. The concluding remarks have been evidently curtailed in consequence, it may be surmised, of the large space taken up by the catalogue. In this the descriptions are adapted for the ready comprehension of outsiders as well as of students in art, and amateurs who desire to obtain the fullest information possible. At the end of the volume there is a Table of Reference from the Register Numbers of the Specimens to the pages on which they are described, together with the Names of Artists, Monuments, Objects, Localities, &c., and a General Index. The plea of the author that the subject is so interesting is amply verified by the manner in which every part of it is written. Photographs and etchings illustrate many of the bronzes. Of these latter preference may be given to the representation of the casket 2084, where the story of Orpheus is seen in relief.

W. B.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

It will interest many members of the Institute to know that the forthcoming Congress of the Société Française d'Archéologie will take place this year at Senlis, from May 28th to June 3rd. The ground that will be gone over will include that from Champlieu to Soissons and Laon. The meeting will be under the able direction of M. Léon Palustre of Tours, the accomplished Director of the "Bulletin Monumental."

How much the active mind of Arcisse de Caumont, the founder of this great society, must still be missed, it will be needless to say, for his indefatigable exertions in the cause of archæology are fresh in our memories. Few shoulders indeed could bear the archæological burden which he bore so long and with so much advantage to his country, nor can English antiquaries cease to pay a tribute to the memory of Bayeux's learned son.

Antiquaries of all complexions will look forward with anxiety to the successful accomplishment of the transport of Cleopatra's Needle to this country, and it is seldom in this utilitarian age that the public spirit of an individual is turned in such an interesting direction. Mr. Erasmus Wilson will certainly have the hearty good wishes of every antiquary in the task he has so nobly undertaken. That this important work has been entrusted to the engineering skill of Mr. J. Dixon is sufficient guarantee of its ultimate success; and it is only astonishing that, with the amount of engineering knowledge we have so long possessed, the monolith should have been the property of the nation and remained neglected and almost forgotten for so many years upon the sands of Alexandria.

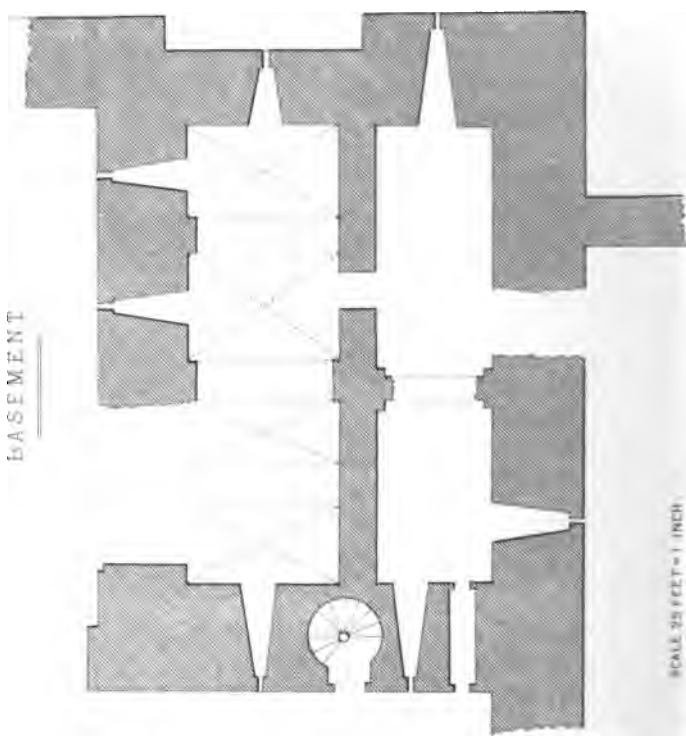




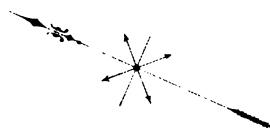


**NORHAM KEEP.**

**BASEMENT**



SCALE 25 FEET = 1 INCH



# The Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1876.

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## NORHAM CASTLE.

By G. T. CLARK, Esq.

THE Castle of Norham-upon-Tweed, "Old Norham," the Queen of Border fortresses, and the most important stronghold between Carlisle and Berwick, was long the "Castle Dangerous" of that contested territory, and the strongest place on the Marches. It is a lasting monument of episcopal magnificence, founded, restored, and maintained by Flambard, Pudsey, and Beke, three of the most powerful prelates who sat in the chair of St. Cuthbert, and as an example of a great Norman keep, not unworthy to be named with Bamborough itself. The natural strength of the ground led to its early occupation for purposes of defence, and the traditions of Norham are in keeping with its architectural grandeur. Here the Roman Legions paused in their progress northwards, and threw up earthworks which may still be recognised, and which were probably abandoned when, under the military occupation of the country, a permanent road was laid out a few miles to the eastward, near to the mouth of the river. An early settlement of the Saxon kings of Deira seems to have been on the steep side of Yevering Bell, the ancient Gebrium, a spur of the Cheviot range, about twelve miles south of Norham, where there yet remain formidable earthworks, which Mr. Raine regarded as traces of the residence of the celebrated Eadwine, King of Deira (585-633), the disciple and friend of Paulinus, but who derived his knowledge of Christianity and probably his taste for a hill residence from Cadvan of Gwynedd, by whom he was educated. From hence, in later times, his successors moved their seat to Millfield, a place near to the Till, and scarcely nine miles from Norham. Probably it was from hence that the Saxon kings guarded that pass of the Tweed then called

Ubbanford, and it may well be that their handy work remains in the banks and ditches, not to be confounded with the camp of the Legions, but incorporated with the later castle, and which much resemble in their figure and strength other well-known residences of the 9th century. Here, near this "Northern-home" of the successors of St. Cuthbert, Bishop Ecfrid of Lindisfarne founded the parish church dedicated to that saint, towards the middle of the 9th century, and placed in it the remains of Ceolwulph, king and saint. The two contiguous shires of Norham and Island, probably given by Oswald of Northumberland to Lindisfarne, are reputed the oldest possessions of the see of Durham, and detached from the body of the bishopric, presented a bold and strongly fortified front of twelve miles, from Coldstream to Berwick, to the Scottish invaders. Early in the 12th century arose the Castle, of which the ruins are still so grand, and for the possession of which English and Scottish kings contended for centuries with varying success. The great Edward, "Malleus Scotorum," made much use of Norham in his wars, and here, both in the church and in the castle, were assembled before him the competitors for the Scottish throne, of whom he selected one rather on the score of his subserviency than of his worthiness. It was also from Norham that Surrey and Dacre and the warders of the middle march directed that formidable raid which, following upon Flodden, carried fire and sword almost to the gates of Edinburgh. But, although the broad stream of Tweed still flows at the base of the castle rock, and the scaurs and ravines that constituted the strength of the position still remain unaltered upon its southern frontier, all else is widely changed. The lofty, though ruined battlements, rising far above the tufted trees, still indeed remain the landmark of the local Shire, but they no longer look out over wasted lands and ruined villages, harried alternately by Englishman and Scot, "galling the gleaned land with hot assays." In no part of Britain are the fields more skilfully cultivated, the rickyards more richly stored, the byres stocked with cattle of a higher breed, the farmhouses indicative of greater ease, or the agricultural labourer better able to care for his own interests. All shows plainly to the eye of the experienced traveller what has been achieved by the sturdy Northern agriculturist, under the invigorating influence of an unfettered trade.

Norham occupies the hollow of a grand bend of the Tweed, which here cuts "a huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle," out of the English bank to bestow it upon that of Scotland, in the form of a broad and fertile meadow. The castle stands upon a rocky platform, the south-western extremity of a cliff which forms the river bank for a considerable distance. A deep ravine cuts off the higher ground to the north-east, and is joined by a less marked depression, which, deepened by art, sweeps round and forms the southern defence until it opens upon the steep slope which descends to the river and forms the north and north-western front of the castle. Beyond this ditch, which contained the approach from the village of Norham, and more to the south, is a broad and level platform, also defended by deep ravines, upon which may be traced the remains of the Roman camp, and the less regular banks and ditches of some of the besiegers of the castle. Both in its choice and in the manner of occupation of the position is shown much strategical judgment and engineering skill. It is both locally strong and well selected for the defence of St. Cuthbert's and the Northumbrian frontier from Scottish inroads, as well as for the cutting off such invaders as, having advanced southwards, might be forced to retreat. The description of Simeon of Durham is both concise and accurate. Writing of Flambard he says, "CONDIDIT CASTELLUM IN EXCELISO PRAERUPTAE RUPIS SUPER TUEDAM FLUMEN, UT INDE LATRONUM INCURSUS INHIBERET ET SCOTTORUM IRRUPTIONES. IBI ENIM, UTPOTE IN CONFINIO REGNI ANGLORUM ET SCOTTORUM, CREBER PREDANTIBUS ANTE PATEBAT EXCURSUS, NULLO IBIDEM, QUO HUIUSMODI IMPETUS REPELLERENTUR, PRAESIDIO LOCATO."

The glories of Norham indeed have been honourably recorded in every stage of its stirring existence. Its sieges, misfortunes, reparations, and their particulars and cost, are entered in considerable fulness in the sheriffs' accounts and in those of the Palatine see, and finally, in its neglect and decay, it has been honoured with Scott for its poet and Raine for its historian.

The plan of the castle is irregular, following the general outline of the ground. Like Barnard Castle, its form is a sort of quadrant, the north and east faces 143 yards and 108 yards long, being nearly at right angles, and more or less straight, and the border to the south-west a curve of

223 yards, connecting the two sides. Of the area thus enclosed, the north-eastern portion is occupied by the upper or inner ward, the plan of which is roughly square, 57 yards east and west by 47 yards north and south, covering therefore within its walls 2,680 square yards. The north and east sides of this ward form part of the common curtain of the whole. In front of the other two sides is a broad and deep ditch, which extends from the eastern ravine to the northern steep, and is contained wholly within the outer ward, the available area of which is thus considerably reduced. The whole was contained within a curtain wall which, where it belonged to the inner ward, was high and strong, but where to the outer ward was unequal, being high where it crossed the ends of the inner ditch, and along a part of the north front, but elsewhere either very low or of but moderate thickness. Most of the care of the engineer was lavished upon the inner ward.

The keep, the great and, though a mere ruin, the best preserved feature of the fortress, is rectangular, and measures at its base about 64 ft. north and south by 86 ft. east and west, and is or has been about 90 ft. high. The walls range from 12 ft. to 15 ft. thick, and appear to be 8 ft. to 10 ft. at the summit, which is inaccessible. The east end is a part of the exterior line of defence, and ranges with the curtain. The south face looks into the outer, the two other faces into the inner ward. The exterior faces have certain peculiarities. The south-east angle is capped by two pilasters, 11 ft. broad and of slight projection, which, like the similar pilaster at Kenilworth, rise from a rough bold sloping plinth, 12 ft. high, continued all along the east end. These pilasters have various sets-off reducing them to 10 ft. at the summit. They meet at and cover the angle, which is solid. Near the centre of the east end is another somewhat similar pilaster, only 10 ft. broad, and beyond this the wall has been pulled down to the first floor. The part left, forming the north-east angle of the keep, had no pilaster, but is bonded into the northern curtain, which is of its age. The southern curtain is not in the line of the keep, but sprung from its south face about 25 ft. west of the south-east angle, where it is seen to have been 7 ft. thick and of the height of the first floor of the keep, or about 30 ft. This also was of the age of the keep. The southern face of the keep, so far

# NORHAM CASTLE.

- A. Keep
- B. Inner Ward
- C. Ditch
- D. Outer Ward
- E. Entrenchments
- F. Arches in Curtain



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at least as its outer face is concerned, is of two dates. In the centre, but belonging to the eastern or older part, is a pilaster, 8 ft. broad, but without sets-off. Between this and the south-east angle, above the curtain, and also without set-off, is another pilaster, only 3 ft. wide. A flat wall, without pilasters, but with two sets-off near the summit, occupies the next 36 ft. westward. The base seems old, but the upper part is certainly later, though the decorated windows are probably insertions. Near the west end, about 16 ft. from the angle, is a plain pilaster, 3 ft. broad and 6 inches projection, which ascends to the second floor level, and stops at the cill of a small pointed doorway in the second floor; above this, in the two upper stories, are two similar but rather smaller doors. It is probable that these opened from mural lobbies into gardrobes of timber, projected from the wall: at least it is difficult to suggest any other reason for doorways so placed.

The west face is all of one date, and, so far as the doors and windows go, of the decorated period. The wall itself is Norman. The curtain of the inner ward abuts upon the south-west angle, and is about 30 ft. high and very thick, with a mural closet high up within it, which may be the wardrobe, constructed in 1430-1. There are two pointed doors, both at the ground level; one leading into the south chamber of the keep, the other, near the centre, into a well stair, 10 ft. diameter, which ascends in the wall to the summit, and terminates in a raised square turret, a marked feature in every view of the keep. Six loops, one over the other, show the line of this staircase, and a few feet from the top, and over the door are four or five corbels, which evidently supported some kind of bretasche of timber, to protect the doorway below. Above are various windows, three of two lights, trefoiled, square-headed, but decorated, and others of one light, with square labels. Towards the south end of this front, at the first-floor level, is a large round-headed doorway, evidently the original main door of the keep, the outer stair leading to which is removed. No doubt this stair ascended from the north end, and the chamber in the curtain, now inaccessible, was either an oratory or a wardrobe, opening from the vestibule before the door. This end, like the south, is tolerably perfect.

The north front is almost all removed. About 15 ft.

from the west end there remains one jamb of a door at the ground level. Beyond this, about 26 ft. is level with the ground. The remainder, about 45 ft., remains to the level of the first floor, and is pierced by two loops from the basement.

The interior of the keep shows it to have contained a basement and four floors, the whole divided east and west or longitudinally, from bottom to top, by a party wall 5 ft. thick, of which only the lower part remains. The basement, at the ground level, is composed of a north and south chamber, each 60 ft. long, the northern 20 ft. and the southern 15 ft. broad. The southern was divided by a cross wall into two chambers, both barrel-vaulted, the western rather the longer. The eastern has a loop to the east, high up, set in a splayed round-headed recess; and in the north wall is a door leading into the north chamber. In the south wall, here 12 ft. thick, is a breach 8 ft. wide, at the ground level, which probably represents a loop. The western chamber has a loop in the south wall, the recess of which runs into the barrel, producing a groin. In the west end is a doorway and passage through the wall, here 15 ft. thick, and by its side a loop. There must have been a door between these southern chambers, in the cross wall.

The northern chamber seems to have been one room only, broken into four compartments by groined vaulting, between each bay being a broad flat band. There is a loop at the east end, and two others near it, in the north wall. The two western bays are broken down. In the west wall is a loop, and near it, in the north wall, the jamb of a door of entrance, probably the stone doorway into the dungeon vault made in 1429-30, and fitted with an iron gate. This basement vaulting is about 10 ft. high to the springing, and is original, as at Bamborough, Mitford, and Newcastle, and the walls and loops all round, seen from within, seem also original, and their interior face work is excellent open jointed ashlar. The remains of the cross wall show the first floor to have contained two chambers, both probably vaulted; the southern certainly so. Each was entered by a door from the western staircase. The north and much of the east wall of this north chamber is gone. In the west end is a decorated window in a large round-headed recess, flat-sided, and near it the entrance from the staircase. In the east end was a loop in

a splayed recess. The southern chamber was probably a lower and lesser hall. In its east end is a door from the well stair, and another door, large and round-headed, once the main entrance. Against the south wall are seen the remains of the vault, of four compartments, groined, the bays divided by cross arches springing from corbels. In the most western bay was a fireplace; in each of the three eastern a round-headed window in a splayed recess. In the east end is a pointed recess and a large lancet window, the whole evidently an insertion. The height of this floor was about 12 ft. to the spring of the vault.

The second was the floor of state, and in the original keep also the uppermost floor. The two rooms had low-pitched open roofs, of which the weather mouldings are seen, as at Porchester, in the end walls. These rooms were entered, each by its own door, from the well stair, but the northern door has been built up and a loop placed in it. Of the north chamber there only remains a large window in the west wall, in a drop arch, a decorated insertion. If there was any fireplace it must have been in the dividing wall. The south chamber was evidently the great hall. In its east end is a large full-centred Norman recess, containing a Norman window. In the west wall, besides the staircase door, here pointed below a square label, is a pointed recess and window. In the south wall are two bold round-headed recesses splayed to small lancet windows, and west of these a pointed door, probably entering a mural chamber, and communicating with the door already mentioned, in the outer face of the wall.

Originally there was no third floor, and to provide this the hall roof was removed, and for it substituted a flat ceiling supported by nine joists, the holes for which remain. On these were laid the planks of the third floor. Of this the north chamber had in its west end a segmented arched window recess, and the staircase door, now blocked up. In the north chamber, west end, was a similar staircase door, and a pointed window recess. The east wall was not pierced, neither was the south wall, save by one window, and near it a small pointed door, near the west end. The covering of this story was composed also of nine joists, which carried the planks of the fourth floor.

Of this floor the remains are but slight. It also was

composed of two chambers. Of the north the west wall remains, but it contains neither window nor staircase door. The south chamber has in its west end a window, and in its south wall a fireplace. Of this wall only about 6 ft. in height remains, so that probably about 4 ft. to 6 ft. of its upper part is gone. Considering the thickness of the walls, the absence of mural chambers and galleries in this keep is remarkable.

The keep was certainly built originally by Ralf Flambard in 1121, and the eastern end, and adjacent halves of the north and south sides were certainly of the same date. It is also pretty certain that Flambard's keep was of the same size with the present one, and the whole basement, and the vaulting of the first floor seems original. Probably there was but one entrance, that in the west end at the first floor level, and there would be in that case, an exterior tower or forebuilding, covering the staircase, and of which there seem to be traces in the face of the curtain against which, as at Kenilworth, it must have abutted. The entrance is quite plain, and without a portcullis. Bishop Pudsey, who ruled from 1158 to 1174, is said to have rebuilt the western half of the ruined keep. Possibly he only restored it, for it is scarcely probable that half of so very substantial a building should have been pulled down, either with the means or in the time at the disposal of any band of invaders; still, it must be admitted, that the western half differs materially from the eastern. In the latter the plinth is bold and high, and the pilasters marked features. In the western part are no pilasters, and no plinth of any consequence, and the set-off of the wall are at a different height. If Bishop Pudsey rebuilt the western half, he did so in the late Norman style, so that the work harmonises inside with that of Flambard. Pudsey no doubt raised the walls somewhat, converted the ridge roofs of the second story into a flat covering, and, in the space thus gained and created, added two more floors, as was done at Porchester, Kenilworth, and Richmond, and many other Norman keeps.

In the Decorated Period great changes were certainly made. Doors were opened at the ground level in the north and west walls. The forebuilding was removed, and in its stead a well stair inserted in the centre of the west wall, so as to provide a new and convenient approach to each

floor; and this was carried up to the end in a raised turret, adding somewhat to the view. The entrance to this staircase was at the ground floor on the outside, but it did not lead into the basement. The whole of the west wall, and the contiguous half of the south wall, were faced with ashlar, and window cases of the period inserted. All this may well have been the work of Anthony Beke, 'Præsul Magnanimus,' called 'the maist prowld and masterfull Busshop in all England,' in that period

'When valour bowed before the rood and book,  
And kneeling knighthood served a Prelate lord.'

The window recesses all through the building are mostly in the Norman style, and therefore in almost every case much older than the windows which they contain.

The three ends of the curtain abutting on the keep are of the same workmanship with, and bond into it, and are about 30 ft. high. That proceeding northwards is capped at the north-east angle by a stout bastion, with a salient angle of 110 degrees, two faces of 17 ft., and shoulders of 4 ft. This is evidently a rebuilding after the introduction of artillery, and probably the work of Sir George Bowes. This curtain is continued 30 ft. further along the river face, and is thence broken down. The kitchen seems to have been in the angle, the hall next to it, and then the chapel, all built against the north curtain. The curtain now standing corresponds closely to what the survey of 1515 calls the long high wall from the Dongeon to the north-west end of the kitchen (44 yards long and 30 ft. high, contremured, so as to be 28 ft. thick). We are told that in 1551 the chapel was 30 ft. by 18 ft., with walls 8 ft. thick, and with a crypt below capable of stabling twenty horses, and a "closet" above, and that the battlements of this closet and of the long wall, were of the same height, and so extended from the north-east angle of the keep round to its south-west angle. In Sir George Bowes's very able report upon the Castle, he advises strengthening this wall by filling the hall and other buildings with earth, and forming a hall in the first floor of the keep, which seems then to have been much such a ruin as at present. Passing to the south-west angle of the keep, whence springs the southern curtain of this inner ward, also 30 ft. high and

very thick, this is continued 50 ft., and then broken by a nearly rectangular bastion tower of 40 ft. projection, and 30 ft. breadth, the 'little Bulwark' of 1551; a Decorated insertion to give a flanking defence where it was much needed. In the rear of this tower, which probably was of the nature of a bastion, that is not higher than the curtain, are remains of buildings. Beyond it, a high bank of earth and rubbish marks the line, but conceals the remains of the rest of the curtain. In this bank, towards the west, a gap marks the position of the gatehouse. The well remains near the north-east corner of the ward, and indicates the general position of the kitchen.

The outer ward, or that part of the castle outside the ditch of the inner ward, is of a lunated figure, 50 yards at the widest part. This ditch was crossed at each end by the curtain. The lower part of the wall at the east end still remains, and is about 8 ft. thick, and 30 ft. high, pierced by a Norman arch, probably for a postern, as at Carlisle. The curtain along the Northern front is gone. The slope is there very steep, and in Sir George Bowes's time this was trusted to, and the wall was a mere low breastwork. More to the west, as far as the lower gatehouse, the wall has been rebuilt. It is in parts about 15 ft. thick and 10 ft. high inside, and from 15 ft. to 20 ft. outside. It probably rests in part on a Norman foundation, but the superstructure looks Decorated or later. It was pierced by deep recesses 11 ft. broad under a flat arch, splayed to a loop, and intended to flank the approach from the town to the outer gate. Three of these recesses remain, and probably there were two more.

The lower gatehouse is a rectangular block 40 ft. long by 20 ft. broad, and of 30 ft. projection within the curtain. It is pierced by a passage 15 ft. wide, reduced at each end and in the centre by gate piers to 12 ft. These piers carried ribs to stiffen the barrel vault of the passage. The arches were round headed. There was no portcullis. In front of the gate, as at Tickhill, are two projecting walls, between which there was probably a drawbridge. There was an upper floor. This gatehouse is evidently Norman, and no doubt Flambarð's work.

From the gatehouse eastward for about 130 yards the curtain is represented by a high and steep bank of earth and rubbish, which no doubt contains its foundations. The ground

risers, and the original bank, as well as the curtain upon it, were evidently raised to command the platform opposite and beyond the ditch, which seems to have been the favourite position for besiegers. The curtain recommences, and is continued for 80 yards along the high ground, forming the east end of the southern front. This part of the curtain is very curious, and not a little difficult to understand. Upon it are the remains of one, or perhaps two, polygonal bastions, but in the line of the wall, between them, are six round-headed arches of about 12 ft. span springing from square piers about 3 ft. or 4 ft. broad. Most of the masonry is so rough that it evidently was intended, as at Southampton Castle, to be covered with earth, though why, while the foundation is excellent, this mode of supporting the curtain should have been employed, is not clear; but the first, that is the most western of these arches, is of ashlar, and seems to have been a gateway, and is probably the gateway mentioned in the history of the Castle as having had its gates unskilfully hung upon gudgeons so placed that they could be lifted off from the outside. Beyond these arches and bastions the curtain makes a sharp turn, and proceeds northwards to 60 yards, to cross the ditch and join the keep.

In front of the lower gate is a small platform, beyond the ditch, and which was no doubt stockaded to cover the entrance and enclose the barriers.

The archway described as probably a gate may have been intended to facilitate the entrance of the villagers and their cattle, in the event of a raid. The outer ward was intended by Flambard, it is said, to afford this shelter, and the deep outer ditch was also so employed. In late times a complaint is made, that whereas formerly the Castle ditch was, under all circumstances, a place of security for the villagers and their property, now they are attacked and captured by the Scottish rieviers under the very walls of the fortress.

The southern and outer ditch is said to have been used as a mill-pool, its mouth being closed by a dam. This ditch is reputed to have been excavated in 1495, but though it may have been then deepened, and a dam formed, it must always have been part of the original defence.

Although there is no record of any fortress or residence here before the time of Flambard, it is most probable, looking to the position and the earthworks, that it was so em-



ployed by the Saxon kings of Deira. These earthworks and the general treatment of the position are thoroughly English, just as the manner in which they are incorporated with the works in masonry is thoroughly Norman.

The authentic history of the Castle begins with 1121, when Bishop Flambard is recorded by Hoveden to have commenced it. Probably Flambard's keep much resembled in outline and dimension, save that it was from 10 ft. to 20 ft. lower, that we now see, and his inner and outer ward must necessarily have been the same with the present, and in great part within the existing walls. Fifteen years later, in 1136, the Castle was taken by David, king of Scotland, and held for his niece the Empress Maud, for some months, until under a treaty with Stephen it was restored to the bishop. David, however, again attacked and took it in 1138, when it is said to have suffered much injury, and to have been dismantled.

Bishop Hugh Pudsey, reputed to have been Stephen's nephew, succeeded to the see of Durham in 1153, and probably at Stephen's suggestion, restored the keep. What he did it is very difficult to determine, since the lapse of 40 years had not materially changed the style of architecture then in use, but whatever it was it was confined to the western parts of the keep, and did not affect the eastern end. His funds were raised by the sending his archdeacon round the country provided with a fragment of St. Cuthbert's winding-sheet, to be shown to subscribers only. Pudsey's labours were only too successful, for, being suspected of a leaning towards the party of Prince Henry and the Scots, he was called upon by Henry II. to give up Norham, together with Durham and Northallerton Castles, and did so in 1174-7, when his castellan, Roger de Conyers, was superseded by Wm. de Neville. Soon afterwards, upon paying a fee of 2,000 marks, the Castles of Durham and Norham were restored to the see: Northallerton had been destroyed. On the bishop's death in 1195, Norham again fell into the king's hands, and £29 6s. 8d. was paid for its maintenance.

King John was here, it is supposed, four times during the vacancy of the see, and the consequent holding of the Castle by the crown. First, 4th Aug., 1209, the only visit recorded in his itinerary, when he was preparing to invade Scotland. He stayed at least three days, for, as Mr. Raine has pointed

out, an instrument given in the *Fœdera* as dated 7th Aug. Northampton, is clearly from Norham. A little later he here seems to have negotiated a treaty with William the Lion, which was confirmed at another meeting about Nov. 1211, when William brought his son Alexander to do homage. He is also said to have paid another visit. All that can be shown is that in April, 1210, he was at Durham, and in 1213 at Warkworth, places within easy reach of Norham.

In 1215, the Castle was besieged without success for forty days by Alexander, king of Scots, who thence advanced into England, leaving Norham and Bamborough unsubdued in his rear. He retired before John, whose followers harried the Scottish border up to Edinburgh.

Early in the reign of Henry II., in 1219, Norham was visited by Pandulf, the Legate, who had recently consecrated Bishop de Marisco to the see. With him came Stephen de Segrave, on the part of England, and King Alexander, to settle disputes between the two kingdoms. On the bishop's death, 1226, and even after the consecration of Bishop Poer, 1228, Norham was held by the crown. In 1258, Robert Nevill of Raby was constable for the crown. Bishop Anthony Beke succeeded to the see in 1283, and held it till 1310. He was rather a warrior and statesman than a priest, and bore a prominent part in Edward's northern transactions. In May, 1291, Edward I. was at Norham, attended by a large muster of northern barons, to meet, hear, and decide between the claimants of the Scottish crown. Edward resided in the castle; the Scots were quartered at Ladykirk, then Upsetlington, beyond the Tweed. The proceedings were opened on the 10th of May with great state in the church of Norham, and in the same church, that now standing, Edward, on the 3rd of June, received the recognition of his authority by the claimants. The court was then adjourned to Berwick, and Baliol, who was said to owe his selection to the bishop's interest, rendered homage for Scotland at Newcastle. In 1296, Bishop Beke raised the banner of St. Cuthbert, and attended his sovereign into Scotland, at the head of 140 knights, 1,000 foot, and 500 horse, he himself leading them in armour. The roll of Caerlaverock describes him as—

“Le noble eveske de Doureaume,  
Le plus vaillant clerk de Roiaume.”

These troops formed the van of the royal army, and penetrated as far as Aberdeen. He was present also in later campaigns, and in one was wounded. His power and arrogance were, however, too great for a subject, and excited the ill-will of Edward, whom, however, he survived, dying 1310. Beke was a magnificent builder, and it is probably to him that must be attributed the facing of the part of the keep which had been restored by Pudsey; and the insertion of the great well staircase and decorated window frames. In 1314, the Castle was conceded by Bishop Kellow to the crown, and Edward II. is said to have executed some repairs there. In 1316 it was restored to the see. Norham had its full share of the troubles of the Border during the weak reign of Edward II. Its captain, Thomas Gray, was twice besieged in form by the Scots, once by blockade for twelve months, and once for seven months. On one occasion the outer ward was taken, but as, after three days' possession, the enemy could produce no impression upon the inner ward, they retired from so dangerous a proximity. Later in the reign, 1322, it was taken, but recovered by Edward in person, after a siege of ten days. In 1327, the night of the coronation of the new sovereign, it was near being taken by treachery, but the plot was frustrated by Thomas Manvers, then captain. Edward is reputed to have executed great works at the castle.

Edward III. found Lewis Beaumont in the see of Durham. The bishop recovered Norham, though with some difficulty, but Barnard Castle remained alienated. In 1335, his successor, Bishop Bury, held an ordination at Norham.

In 1356, ten years after the battle of Neville's Cross, the Scots burned Norham, probably the village, and surprised the town, but not the Castle, of Berwick, which held out till the arrival of Edward III. from Calais, when the affront was amply avenged, and Bishop Hatfield attested Baliol's surrender of the crown at Roxburgh Castle in 1357. During the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., Norham was well maintained, and played a part in all the great transactions on the Border. The accounts kept by the Bishops of Durham are very copious, and contain many curious technical and local words. The outer bridge was repaired with timber in 1405, as was the roof of the Pex, or Pox-hall within

the Castle. A wheel was made for the well, with an axle, gudgeons, and a bucket. The great and other chambers and the kitchen were leaded. Mention is made of the chapel, and of the chaplain. The nights being long and cold, extra wages were paid to the watchers, lights were allowed for the chapel, and repairs effected for the whole Castle excepting the great tower. In 1408 the west gate was wholly rebuilt in 298 days at a cost of £37 6s. 7d. This can scarcely be the lower or outer gate at the extreme west, which is much older, and was probably the inner gate, which is also to the west of the keep. "Les skafald" is mentioned, and a paling of wood round the tower. In 1422 was built the "new tower within the Castle," and in 1426-7 four iron doors were brought from the bishop's forges at Auckland.

In 1429-30, during the episcopate of Cardinal Langley, "*quædam nova latrina*" was appended to the west side of the great tower, a work not completed in 1431-2. Also a great doorway in stone was made under the vault of the Dungeon of the great tower, probably the door in the north wall, of which one jamb remains. The doorway was fitted with an iron door. The draw-well had a new wheel, and a new horse mill was constructed within the Castle.

Hitherto the bishops, when in possession of the Castle, had occupied it by their own officers, but in 1435 the cardinal introduced the practice of letting it for a term to some powerful captain who was bound to maintain and defend it, and received a good payment for so doing. This practice was found convenient, and resorted to not infrequently afterwards. The lessee seems sometimes to have been invested by the bishop with the offices of constable of the Castle and sheriff and escaetor of the see. Bishop Fox began his rule in 1495 by deepening the outer ditch, and indeed the aspect of the times rendered prudent all possible precautions for defence.

In that same year, Henry VII., alarmed at the reception of Warbeck in Scotland, prepared for war, and a commission of array for the Marches was issued to the bishop, and Lord Surrey took the command north of Trent. James crossed the Border in two successive years, and in the second, 1497, appeared in person before Norham. It was strong and well garrisoned, and by some accounts the Bishop threw himself

into the fortress, within which shelter had been afforded to all the country round. During sixteen days of fierce assault the outer defences were much injured, but the place was not entered, and Surrey came to its relief. The bishop then laid aside the temporal arm and excommunicated Redesdale and Tynedale. In September, 1498, he was at Norham and lifted his censure from the Borderers who submitted. Hamerlin and Garth his lieutenants during the siege were pensioned for their bravery in the defence.

In 1513, 22nd August, the year of Flodden, King James crossed the Tweed in force, and on the 29th, Norham, imperfectly garrisoned, was surrendered to him, and very roughly handled. The king then

“Wasted his time with Heron’s dame,”

while his army took Etal, Wark, and Heton, and the lesser holds of Tilmouth, Shoreswood, Twisel, Duddoe, and Thornton. This gleam of success was succeeded by the defeat of Flodden, after which, in 1514, Lord Dacre ravaged the Scottish border to beyond Borthwick. If the bishop’s garrison showed want of courage during James’s attack, the main body of the forces of the bishopric redeemed its character at Flodden, where they led the van under Sir Wm. Bulwer. It was the last appearance of St. Cuthbert’s banner in the open field, and often as it had been displayed, it had never been attended by defeat. Bishop Ruthal once more put the castle in repair; the inner ward and the keep were made safe, and much money expended in masons’ and carpenters’ work on walls and roofs. The castle had been “*prostratum et disruptum ad terram*” by the Scots, a phrase which, however, is not to be taken literally. Bishops-Middleham is said to have been stripped for materials for Norham. By 1515 the Castle was in order, victualled, and garrisoned. The walls were countermined as a precaution against “sawting,” or blowing up. The outer walls were buttressed, and provided with “Murderers,” a well-known piece of ordnance of that day. When all was done, the masons were despatched to pull down Home Castle.

Nothing seems to have lasted very long at Norham, for William, Lord Greystoke, the captain, found the outer ward so ruined as to be defenceless. Its four towers were too low, but the inner ward was regarded “with the help of God” as

impregnable. At this time the long wall between the inner gate and the nether gate next the water was ready to be embattled. The four towers were to be raised with ashlar, and quarry rubbish was ready to fill up three of them. Wolsey held the see from 1522 to 1528, but does not seem to have troubled himself about the Castle.

About 1530 the Scots appeared before Norham, but the Castle was saved by the valour of Archdeacon Franklin, who had a special coat-of-arms assigned to him by Henry VIII. for this service. At this time there was regular stabling for 60 horses, a byre for men, which, if necessary, could hold 50 more, and there was room beneath the chapel for another 20, or 130 in all. Besides stores of salt meat, fish, and grain, 6 fed oxen and 400 sheep lay nightly beneath the castle wall. The garrison was composed of 59 men, besides children. This state of defence was probably stimulated by a whisper of treason, which caused the Privy Council to direct the Duke of Norfolk "to look to it." Bishop Tunstal seems to have maintained the defences during the reign of Mary.

In the next few years, however, great changes took place. In 1542 the Castle was finally put in order by Bishop Tunstal, but in 1551 the bishop was deprived, and the Castle was reported again to need repairs. The wall of the inner ward towards the Tweed was rotten, the water having got into it on the removal of the lead from the adjacent buildings, and in such a state that a very light battery on the Scots' bank would suffice to bring it down with the hall and kitchen. Half the keep had some time since fallen. The reporter, Sir George Bowes, points out the weakness of the place, and then, at great length, how an old castle was to be made defensible in modern warfare. He especially dwells on the absence of flanking works. The outer ward wall, on the east, west, and south is old, thin, and weak, and its small ward towers badly placed as flankers. The north wall was a low parapet, and the outer ward gates so hung that they could be lifted from the outside. He advises filling hall and kitchen with earth to support the river ward wall, and constructing a hall in the ruins of the keep. He is said to have lowered the keep one story, reserving only the stair turret as a look-out. Probably it was at this time that the north-east bastion was built, and the embrasures made in the outer ward wall.

In 1557 there was a fray in front of the Castle, in the space between the bridge and the iron gate. There were but four men in the place. In 1559, Tunstal died, and the castle was finally and by law detached from the see of Durham and held by the crown, Lord Hunsdon having a lease of it from Elizabeth. Lord Hunsdon's representatives, the Careys, were induced by James to part with their lease to Home, Earl of Dunbar, in whose favour the property was converted into a freehold to be held by socage tenure of the crown. As late, however, as 1583 it was kept up as a place of defence, probably for the police of the border, and had an establishment of a captain of horse, an ensign bearer, a trumpeter, a porter and assistant porter, a master gunner, a quarter-master gunner, 16 gunners, a chaplain and a surgeon, costing not less than £1703 6s. 8d. per annum.

The history of Norham Castle and Shire will be found given in great detail and with great accuracy in the history of North Durham, by the Rev. James Raine.

## CAMULODUNUM.

By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH.

WHEN the Institute met last year at Canterbury an opportunity was given for investigating the Roman maritime cities of the Kentish coast, the places of landing in Roman times from the opposite coast of Gaul. The remains that mark the period of Roman occupation, and the roads which converged from these landing-places to a central point, Canterbury (the Roman Durovernum), were then pointed out. The controverted point, where the first Roman army under Julius Cæsar landed, is not yet conclusively settled.<sup>1</sup> Three points are obstinately maintained with all the ability and learning which can be brought to bear on the subject. The point, also, at which Cæsar crossed the Thames in his second expedition is still left in doubt, although argument and demonstration seem to show it was Halliford, at the Coway stakes.<sup>2</sup>

This campaign of Julius Cæsar makes us acquainted with Verulamium<sup>3</sup> (St. Alban's), but carries us no further into Britain. So far we are indebted to "Cæsar's Commentaries." We have now to wait for the lapse of nearly 100 years, and we get a further insight into British history, and to the Roman Conquest of Britain. We come to the campaign of Aulus Plautius,<sup>4</sup> and to the landing of Claudius on this island. There is every reason for believing that to the campaign of Aulus Plautius, and to a camp of that general, London owes its rise. The reasons for this are elaborately given by Dr. Guest in his paper on the campaign of Plautius, with his usual learning and clearness of argument. He fixes the date to A. D. 43, when, in the autumn of that year, Plautius "drew the lines of circumvallation round his camp, he founded the metropolis of Britain." It is in this campaign that we become acquainted with Camulodunum, the

<sup>1</sup> R. C. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar, B. G. v. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, B. G. v. 18. Arch. Journ.,  
vol. xxiii. p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> A. D., 43—50. (Tac. Ann., xii.)



capital of the Trinobantes, a people inhabiting the country represented now by the county of Essex.

We have it mentioned by Pliny, N. H. 2, s. 187. Dio Cassius calls it—

“Το καμουλόδουνον τὸ του κυνοβελλιων βασιλειον.”

In Essex many coins are found having the name CVNOBELINVS, son of Tasciovanus. They have also the Mint mark, Camu or Cam—Camulodunum. So much is said of Camulodunum in Tacitus, Agric., c. 14, and Ann. xii. 32, and Dio Cassius so fully details the victory of Claudius and the taking of Camulodunum, that one would have thought no uncertainty as to the position of the place could have existed; but, like other places, its site has also been questioned, and a controversy has arisen about it.

The expression of Tacitus (Ann., lib. xii., c. 32), “Ceterum Clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Cangos exercitus. Vastati Agri, prædæ passim actæ: non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carpere agmen tentarent, punito dolo. Jam ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat; cum ortæ apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxêre ducem destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis. Et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma cœptabant interfectis, in reliquos datâ veniâ, residêre. Silurum Gens, non atrocitate non clementiâ mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quò promptius veniret, Colonia Camulodunum validâ veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. Itum inde in Siluras, etc., etc.”

This is the passage of Tacitus which has led to a controversy about the site of “Colonia Camulodunum,”—Where was it placed? The Icenî mentioned here are the ancient inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk. The Cangi are more doubtful. The “Ganganorum Promentorium” seems to place them in North Wales, and the discovery of Roman masses of lead with the stamp de Ceang:<sup>6</sup> in Cheshire. The words, “Jam ventum haud procul mari quod Hiberniam spectat,” fixes them somewhere in Cheshire and North Wales. The words, “ortæ apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxêre ducem,” show that when penetrating into North

<sup>6</sup> See “Inscrip. Britannæ Latinæ,” 1873, nos. 1204, 1205, 1206.

Wales the inhabitants of Lancashire and Yorkshire had become alarmed, and Ostorius was obliged to march northward and to bring them to terms, before he could complete the conquest of Wales—South as well as North,—by bringing the Silures into subjection. “*Id quo promptius veniret,*” says the historian, “*Colonia Camulodunum valida manu veteranorum deducitur in agros captivos.*” The object of this colony was to keep the district lately conquered in order, to prevent any rising in the rear of the general, while he brought the Silures under subjection.

It has been argued that Colchester is too far from the scene of the campaign of Ostorius against the Silures, and that it must have been nearer to their country that the “*Colonia Camulodunum*” was placed; but the distance from Colchester to Gloucester on the confines of the Silures, was not great for a Roman army to traverse—an army which we see had already penetrated as far north as York, or within a short distance of it. That the Roman general did not succeed in keeping the conquered country in his rear in order, we have certain proof in what occurred afterwards.

In the early part of the present century, the Rev. John Skinner, an ardent antiquary and friend of Sir R. C. Hoare, to whom the county of Wilts and antiquaries in general are so much indebted for his intelligent labours, put forth the theory that Camulodunum was in the west and not in the east of Britain, and thought that he had discovered the site of it on the line of the Great Foss Road at Camerton, about seven miles south-west of Bath, the Roman “*Aquæ Solis.*”

He was induced to assert this from Roman remains found on the line of the Foss Road, and from Roman coins which he had collected on the spot. An account of these remains will be found in the 11th volume of the “*Proceedings of the Som. Archæol. and N. H. Soc.,*” p. 174, 1861–2. One single inscription was discovered, which, though imperfect, fixed the date of the building to which it belonged, and the foundations of which were uncovered, to A. D. 289—*BASSO ET QUINTIANO . COS.*—or in the time of the usurper Carausius.

The coins found included a period from the Emperor Claudius to Valentinianus, but no traces of a Roman station are to be found there, and the theory of Mr. Skinner rested

upon the supposed similarity of "Camerton" to Camulodunum, and of "Temple Cloud" to Templum Claudii. Mr. Phelps, in his "History of Somerset," adopted the theory of Mr. Skinner, and embodied in his first volume much of the MS. left by Mr. Skinner, and thus gave publicity to the idea.

Sir R. C. Hoare thought it needful to reply to the argument of Mr. Skinner, and in 1827 printed for private circulation a pamphlet on "The True Site of the Ancient Colony of Camulodunum." In this he examines all the existing historical authorities, and cites them in succession to show that the original site of the ancient capital of the Trinobantes ought to be fixed at Lexden, two miles from Colchester, where he says there are considerable earthworks still visible. "There, I imagine was the British town taken by Claudius, which gained him the honours of a triumph at Rome. This victory, as well as others are recorded in the following inscription at Rome :—

TI . CLAV(DIO CÆS.  
AVGVSTO  
PONTIFIC . (MAX . TR . P  
COS . V . (IMP . P . P .  
SENATVS . POPV(L . Q . R  
REGES . BRIT(ANNIÆ ABSQ  
VLLA . IACTV(RA . DOMVERIT,  
GENTES . QV(E . BARBARAS.  
PRIMVS . INDICIO . (SVBEGERIT.<sup>6</sup>

It is due to Mr. Skinner to say that the site of Camulodunum was very uncertain until recent times. Thus Camden would fix it at Maldon in Essex; others at Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire, at Saffron Walden in Essex, and even at Doncaster and at Camalet in Somerset. If we derive the name from the god Camulus, there may have been more Camulodunums than Colchester.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This is Sir R. C. Hoare's restoration of the missing portion of the inscription. It is differently supplied by Fabretti, p. 728, 446. (See "Inscrip. Lat. Select," vol. i., Turici, 1838.) But the purport of the reading is the same.

<sup>7</sup> The different opinions about the situation of "Colonia Camulodunum" are thus given by Morant in his "History and Antiquities of Colchester," p. 13. R. Talbott, H. Lhuyd, J. Leland, Bishop

Stillington, W. Baxter place it at Colchester; W. Camden, Edm. Burton, at Maldon; Dr. Thomas Gale, N. Salmon, at Castle Camps, in Cambridgeshire; Hector Boethius, in Scotland; Polydore Virgil, at Doncaster or Pontefract. According to the geographer Ptolemy, there was Camulodunum, *καμουλοδυνον*, among the Brigantes, where Leg. VI. Vict. was quartered.

That Camulus was the British Mars appears clear from inscriptions. Camulodunum, or Mars Hill, might, therefore, be a name not unfrequent in Romano-British times. But the Roman authorities seem conclusively to fix the Camulodunum of Tacitus and Dio Cassius to Colchester. We have it placed in the east of Britain on the Putingerian Tablet of the fourth century.

By the chorographer Ravennas, we have the eastern towns of Britain placed in the following order, beginning with London :—

LONDINIVM. Augusta.  
 CAESAROMAGOM.  
 CAMVLODVNO. Colonia.  
 DVRCINATE  
 DVROVIGNVTO  
 DVROBRISIN  
 VENTA CENORVM  
 LINDVM. Colonia.

These towns all lie in the line of country between London and Lincoln.

It has been observed by Sir R. C. Hoare,<sup>8</sup> that "there are few places within our island that can boast of such ample claims to Roman splendour as the modern Colchester ; which is not to be wondered at, for it was the first colony established by the Romans in our island. It had its Roman roads issuing from it in various directions, its tessellated pavements,<sup>9</sup> its temple, its statues, bronzes, and numerous coins, stamped with the figure of Cunobeline ; and its environs at Lexden still retain the rude vestiges of the ancient British settlement, previous to the construction of the walled city of the Romans at Colchester."

Professor Hübner, in his recent work, "Inscrip. Brit. Latinæ," remarks that the original name of the Roman colony was probably Claudia or Claudia Colonia. There is, however, no proof of this, and Victricensis is the name given in an inscription probably of the second century—

C . N . MVNATII . M . F . PAL . AVRELII . BASSI  
 PROC . AVG . . . . .

<sup>8</sup> See "Letter on the True Site of the ancient colony of Camulodunum," A. D. 1827. Only 26 copies of this were printed

by Rutter, Shaftesbury.

<sup>9</sup> See "Archæol." vol. xvi., p. 145.

CENSITOR. CIVIVM . ROMANORVM .  
 COLONIAE . VICTRICENSIS . QVÆ . EST .  
 IN BRITANNIA . CAMVLODYNI .

This cognomen, Victricensis, may have been derived from the Claudian Legion, the 14th (Legio XIV., Martia Victrix), or from the 20th (Legio XX., Valeria Victrix).

Two inscriptions to soldiers of the 20th Legion were found in 1868 at Colchester :

M . FAVON . M . F . POL . FACI  
 LIS . > LEG. XX. VERICOND  
 VS ET NOVICVS LB . POSV.  
 ERVNT . H. S. E.

The letters appear to be of the date of the latter part of the first century, and probably the time of the Emperor Vespasian.

The other, which is only a fragment, but contains lettering enough to restore the whole, was found on the site of the Hospital, where another (now in the Disney Museum, at Cambridge) was also found.

We have, therefore, three inscribed stones found at Colchester still extant, with a fragment of a fourth. Another, which is now lost, was discovered in 1764. It is thus given by Hübner :—

NVMINIB  
 AVG  
 ET . MERCV . DEO  
 ANDESCOCI  
 VOV . CO MI  
 LICO AESVB I  
 LINI LIBERIVS  
 AEAM OPERE  
 MARONIO .  
 D . S . D .

It is a very interesting inscription. An altar dedicated to the divinity of the Emperor, the god Mercury, and the god Andesco, probably a local divinity worshipped at Camulodunum as Sul was in Bath. Colchester has been rich in other remains, as the stone sphynx seated above the head and bones of a human victim. The sphynx seems to have

been emblematical of the colony, as we find it upon coins. Sacrificial implements have also been found.

All these discoveries confirm the importance of the place, and show that, if on no other grounds, it has a claim above the other places I have mentioned. It is not improbable that it may have been the station of the 14th Legion, the *Domitores Britanniae*, but no bricks or inscriptions have yet been discovered to confirm this opinion.

In two of the Antonine Iters mention is made of *Colonia* and *Comulodunum*,—the fifth and the ninth.

The fifth begins with London, and notes the stations along the eastern side of Britain, till it terminates at Carlisle in the western—a course of more than 400 miles. It passes through Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire, along the eastern side of the island, until it comes to York, when it passes to the western.

The stations with which we are now concerned are—

Londinio (the starting point)	M. P.
Cæsaromago . . . . .	xxviii.
Colonia . . . . .	xxiii.
Villa Faustini . . . . .	xxxv.
Icianos . . . . .	xvii.
Camborico . . . . .	xxxv.
&c. &c., &c.	

The distances here given fix *Colonia* to Colchester. There is some difference of opinion as to the exact position of the stations on each side of it, but these are points not needful here to determine.

The ninth Iter, starting from *Venta Icenorum*, gives the stations to London.<sup>1</sup> *Venta Icenorum* is identified with *Caistor*, near *Norwich*. The stations are as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> The ninth Iter of Antonine runs from *Venta Icenorum*—*Caistor*, near *Norwich*—through *Colchester* to London. *Venta Icenorum* is a Roman station on the river *Tese*, three miles south of *Norwich*, containing an area of 32 acres, and once surrounded by a strong wall, with towers at the angles, which are rounded. That on the west side, close to the river, and washed by it, is 33 ft. in circumference. The walls are composed of alternate layers of Roman tile and of flints.

This Iter passes on to *Thetford* (*Sitomagus*, see *Camden*), and on by *Combertonum* (*Brettenham*) to *Colchester*. The

road left *Colchester* by the *Balkerne Gate*, and passed between the *Hospital* and *Grammar School*, and entered the parish of *Stanway*, so called on account of the Roman causeway which can be traced on the *Hall farm*, it proceeded across a small stream, called the *Roman River*, to *Birch*, in *Domesday Book* written "*Briccia*." In a field adjoining the churchyard of *Great Birch* may still be seen portions of a small earthwork, with ditch and rampart, known as *Birch Castle*. It is quadrangular in construction, and the Roman way passed near it, and on the side of the way was formerly a tumulus, in

A. Venta Icenorum	M. P.
Sitomago . . . . .	xxxi.
Combretonio . . . . .	xxii.
Ad Ansam . . . . .	xv.
Camaloduno . . . . .	vi.
Canonio . . . . .	ix.
Cæsaromago . . . . .	xii.
Durolito . . . . .	xvi.
Londonio . . . . .	xv.

Beginning here from the north-east, the Iter runs south, passing in an opposite direction to the former, but running into the same line of road and into some of the same stations, and making Colonia coincide with Camulodunum. This fixes Camulodunum in the east part of Britain, and we have Colonia and Camulodunum brought together under one name by the geographer Ravennas in his list of cities in the east of Britain.

The remains found at Colchester, as well as the strength of the walls, and their undoubted Roman construction, seem to mark it as a place of no ordinary importance, and as intended to keep in subjection that part of the island. The walls, however, that now exist were not built until after the destruction of the first colony planted there in the reign of Claudius. The first colony had no walls, and fell an easy prey to the enraged Britons. Roman pavements are said to have been found running under the line of the present wall, which confirms the truth of what is related by Tacitus of the remissness of the first colonists, who neglected to fortify themselves.

Camulodunum was one of the towns destroyed in the revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 61. The account of all that here occurred clothes it with a deep historic interest. The pages of Tacitus and Dion<sup>2</sup> cast a light around it which will ever impart to the student of his country's past history a charm, sad and melancholy though it be, yet a charm which no lapse of time can efface, but which becomes deeper the more we contrast the past with the present.

The injured British queen succeeded in stirring up her

which Roman urns were found. The earthworks on Lexden heath are said by Morant to have been traceable once to Birch Castle, and beyond it. (See Journ.

of Arch. Assoc., 1863, p. 275.)

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Rom.," lib. lxii., c. i. Xiphilina.

countrymen to cast off the Roman yoke, and 200,000 of her own people, of the Trinobantes and the other tribes, were ranged under her banner. They took London, Verulam and Camulodunum, and, according to Tacitus, 70,000,<sup>3</sup> but, according to Dion, 80,000 citizens and allies were slain and massacred. Minute account is given of what took place at Camulodunum, for here the Temple of Claudius seems to have been a special object of detestation, "*Arx eternæ dominationis.*"<sup>4</sup>

The spot where the decisive battle took place which riveted the Roman dominion upon this island is not known; it probably has not been as carefully investigated as other points of our early national history, but it is one of the turning points upon which so much of national growth and character depends. A double-trenched Roman camp at Haynes Green, near Messing, has been mentioned, where the Roman station of Canonium was afterwards fixed; but this is uncertain, as no proof has been brought by which the site of the battle might be fixed with any degree of certainty.<sup>5</sup> All that Tacitus says of it is very brief. "*Jam Suetonio quartadecima legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme millia armatorum erant: cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat: deligitque locum arctis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum; satis cognito, nihil hostium nisi in fronte, et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum.*" It was a narrow defile backed by a wood; the enemy were all in front of the Roman Legion, without the opportunity of attacking it in flank or rear, and no chance of an ambush. A plain opened out upon this defile. Many points may present themselves, but it is evident that the spot must be situated between London and Colchester. "This battle seems to have put an end to all hostilities from the Britons in the country of the Trinobantes and Icenii, and we hear no more of Camulodunum. The town was probably rebuilt, after having been laid waste by Boadicea, and the numerous fragments of Roman bricks, tiles, etc., interspersed in the walls and other buildings of the town of Colchester still remain to attest its former situation. But still I entertain a doubt (says Sir R. C. Hoare) whether, at the period of this victory, there was a

<sup>3</sup> "Tac. Ann.," xiv. 32.

<sup>4</sup> See "Tac. Ann." lib. xiv., 31.

<sup>5</sup> See Journ. Arch. Assoc., 1863, vol. xix. p. 277.

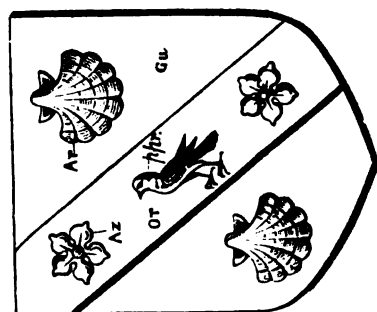
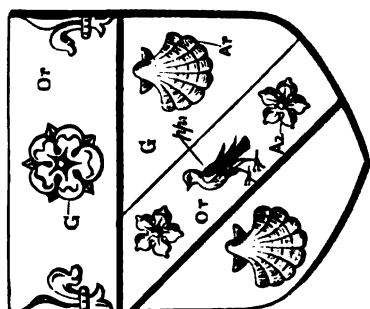
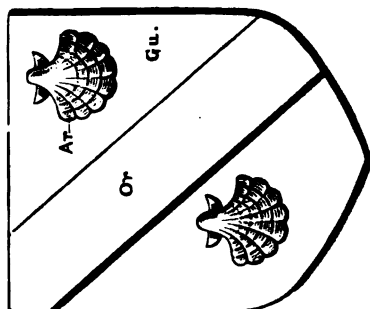


*walled* town at Camulodunum, but I am rather inclined to think that the original British settlement was on Lexden heath."

Much careful examination of the earthworks on Lexden Heath in the month of August last has led me to the same conclusion as the above writer. The remains in Mr. Errington's Park are evidently British, and form *one* of the principal entrances, if not the principal, into the ancient British city. The earthworks remain to a certain distance on each side of this entrance. The road is worn into a deep hollow, and is protected by an earthwork on each side, after entering the precinct of the city. The ramparts on either side of the gate cease after a while, and seem to have been levelled, probably by the Romans after their conquest, who, it may be, left the gate with its earthworks as a token of the strength of the city they had taken. The earthworks at Lexden appear to have been more considerable in Morant's time,<sup>6</sup> and much in past times has been taken away for the sake of the gravel, of which the mounds are composed. This is greatly to be regretted, as they should be allowed to remain as historical monuments. The mounds, however, in Lexden Park are now carefully preserved, and form a very interesting feature in that beautiful residence. The city of Boadicea seems to have been of great extent, as the circuit can be traced at intervals over a large area, but the want of an accurate map in which each portion of earthwork is noted down, renders it very difficult to obtain a correct idea of the whole extent. The forthcoming Ordnance Survey, in which it is stated that every vestige will be noted, may afford to future antiquaries a means of ascertaining accurately what was the actual circuit of British Camulodunum.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. ii, p. 128; also Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1863, p. 276.





## VARIATIONS IN THE PETRE ARMS.

By S. TUCKER, Esq. (*Rouge Croix*).

I SHOULD have no excuse for intruding so unimportant and generally uninteresting a subject as the variation in the armorial bearings of a particular family, but for the fact that the Petres have been for more than three centuries intimately connected with the county of Essex, and that the heraldic differences to which I shall call your attention are to be met with on tombs and other memorials in this county as elsewhere, and that some trouble may be saved to future enquirers by my note of explanation. If these alterations were the caprice of the present lawless and fanciful days of heraldry, when most persons bear arms because they have been borne by others of the same name, or having no such quasi title, assume a coat of their own device, or belonging to some one else, I should not have thought it worth while to notice them, for my fear and my hope are equalized that historians hereafter will have to place no reliance on the universal and mostly nonsensical armorials of this our time. The differences in the Petre Arms, however, occur at a period in which we are accustomed to regard heraldic bearings and emblems as a sure guide, when heraldry proved of use to and now serves the purpose of the historian and chronologist. Such reasons alone seem to offer an apology for my observations.

My attention was first called to this subject, when recently at Oxford, by Dr. Griffiths of Wadham College, which College was, as you are aware, founded by Nicholas Wadham and his wife Dorothy, one of the daughters—by his first marriage—of Sir William Petre, of Writtle and Ingatestone in this county, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, Visitor of the Monasteries, Secretary of State, and Secretary to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. He died 1571-2, and is buried at Ingatestone.

Dr. Griffiths pointed out to me that in a portrait of Dorothy Wadham, dated 1595, the coat (No. 2) is impaled,

as for her, with that of her husband—that in another portrait of hers dated 1611, the coat (No. 3) is so impaled—and that this simpler bearing seems to have been generally used as for Petre in the various representations of the Arms in the College, either in carved oak, painted window or embroidery. I should also state that the coat (No. 2) is or was in a window of the Hall of Exeter College, as that of its great benefactor Sir William Petre. On investigation I found it to be generally asserted that Sir William Petre had an “augmentation” to his arms by Christopher Barker. There is nothing in the College of Arms to justify this, but I do find in a collection of trickings of Barker’s Grants,<sup>1</sup> the coat (No. 2) entered as if an original and not an augmented coat—it is not so stated—but that is the inference I draw from the note to the entry. That Sir William Petre bore this coat there can be no doubt. It is not on the portrait which his representative Lord Petre has been good enough to send for our local museum ; but it *is* on another portrait in his possession at Thorndon, and it is placed at the side of Sir William’s name in Glover’s “List of Knights,” 1435 to 1624 (Cot. MS. Claud., c. iii. 133)—and it is on his monument at Ingatestone. In the Bodleian Library (Ashm. MS. 1121) the arms of “S<sup>r</sup> William Petre de Writtle” are most absurdly given as the coat No. 3, with the supporters afterwards borne by his son the first Lord Petre, but his right arms in correction (probably by Sir Henry St. George, Norroy King of Arms, to whom the volume once belonged), coat No. 2, are sketched in at the side. The funeral certificates of Sir William Petre and of Dame Anne his widow (the latter attested by “John Petre,” afterwards Lord Petre) are both in the College of Arms, but unfortunately the arms are not added, so that the only, yet sufficient, authority for his bearing the coat No. 2 is in the entry amongst Barker’s grants to which I have already referred. I cannot assign an exact date to the arms, but as Sir William Petre sealed some letters in 1545 now in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 283 and 284) with the device of a crowned head, I presume he did not then bear arms ; and as Christopher Barker died in 1550, they may reasonably be dated between those years.

The Harl. MS. 5846, is entitled “Creasts and Armes given by Christopher Barker, als Garter, Knight, with some other

<sup>1</sup> E. D. N. 56, 11.

auntient armes, who died the second day of January, being Thursday, about 8 of the clock at night in Pater Noster rewe in London, a<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>o</sup> Edri. 6<sup>u</sup> 1550.” It has the following note on the fly-leaf:—“Coppied out of an old Booke sometime William Colborne’s, York Heralde, and of later time Rafe Brooke’s, Yorke-herald, now in the custodie of St. Edward Dering, Knight and Baronet, a<sup>o</sup> 1632. Henry Lily.” At folio 85 of this vol. the coat No. 2 is given as that of “Sir William Petre of Ingreton (*sic*) in Com. Essex, Knight,” and this goes also to prove, not only that he had the arms from Barker, but, by there being no reference to the fact, that it was not an *augmented* coat.

I can find no earlier entry of the coat No. 1 than the Visitation of Devon in 1563-4, by Harvey (Clarenceux—D. 7, 16<sup>B</sup>), when John Peter (so spelt<sup>2</sup>) of Tor Briau the brother of Sir William, entered his pedigree of three descents. It is of course consistent with the theory of the augmentation that this may have been the existing paternal shield of Sir William Petre, and that Barker gave him the royal emblems on the chief, as a personal addition and distinction. While admitting that, however, I incline, from the surrounding circumstances, to the belief that Sir William was the first of his family to bear arms, and that he had a grant of that before referred to (No. 2). That the charges on the chief had relation to his offices and courtly connection, I have no doubt; but I believe it to have been entirely newly designed, and to have all the complications which, whether intentionally or not, Barker seems to have introduced into the armorials of that date.

I take it that Sir William was the first to bring his family into notice, and that when (still during his life) some quarter of a century afterwards Harvey visited Devon, he then and there assigned to the rest of the Petre family the same coat, shorn of those charges which had personal reference to Sir William alone. The *admission* of arms, by the simple “tricking” in on the top of the pedigree, by the duly qualified officer at the visitation, gave a complete title to arms, and such an origin is all I can trace of coat No. 1; particularly as the family did not register either their pedi-

<sup>2</sup> Sir Wm. Petre seems to have been the first of his family who changed the spelling of his name.

grees or arms at the prior visitation, just antecedent to Sir William's first prominence.

In the next (1620) Visitation of Devon, the immediate family of Sir William do not appear. They had by this time become, by the magnificent grants of lands he received, a great Essex instead of a small Devonian House; but a cadet springing from Otho Peter of Bowhay, *did* enter their pedigree, and the same arms, No. 1, were allowed to them. I may here state that these Cadet Peters were the progenitors of a numerous and always well-positioned family resident both in Devon and Cornwall, which is still represented, and who have always (properly) borne the coat No. 1.

In 1573, two years after Sir William Petre's death, his brother, Robert Peter, Auditor of the Exchequer, had a *grant* of the same coat as borne by his distinguished brother. It is clear that Robert Peter was entitled to the coat No. 1, but at that time he had greater pride in the more complicated shield associated with his brother the founder of his family's greatness. The grant is in extenso in the Herald's College (Vin. 162, 146), and as its terms bear on my point, and are otherwise quaint and characteristic of the time, I will give it to you in full :—

LITERÆ PATENTES ROBERTI PETRE FRATRIS GULI : PETRE MILITIS AURATI  
ATQUE ORDINIS DINI GEORGII CANCELLARII.

"To all and singular as well Nobles and Gentlemen as others to whome these presentes shall come be seen heard read or understood I St. Gilbert Dethick knight alias Garter principall kinge of Armes send Greetinge in our Lord God euerlastinge forasmuch as aunciently from the begininge the valiant and vertuose actes of excellent personnes haue bene commendid to the world and posteritie with sondry monumentes and remembrances of their good desearts Emongst the which the cheifest and most usuall hath bene the bearinge of signes in shildes called Armes beinge none other than demonstrations and tokenes of them. To th'entent therfor that such as by their vertues do ad and shew forth to the aduancement of the common wealth the shyne of their good lyfe and conuersacon in daily practyse of thinges worthy and commendable may therfor recuyue due honor in their lyues and also deryue and contynewe the same successiue to their posterity for euer. And whereas I the sayd Garter principall kinge of armes not only by myne owne knowledge but also by the lawdable report and testimony of diuers and sondry credible personnes am truly asserteynid that Robert Peter of Deuonshyre Auditor of the receptes of the Queenes mat<sup>ties</sup> exchequyre third sonne to John Peter of the same shyre and Brother to the right honorable St. Willm Petre knight and chaunceller of the most honorable Order of the Garter hath of longe tyme so well behaiued him selfe that he deservith to be in all places of honor, ad-

mitted reputed and taken in the number and company of all other gentlemen. In consideraçon wherof and for a further declaracon of the worthinesse of the sayd Robert Petre and at his instant request I the said Garter principall Kinge of Armes by power and auctoritie to me committid by Lefes Patentes under the great Seale of England, haue assignid deuyssed, gyven and graunted vnto the said Robert Peter these Armes and creast folowinge. The feild geules, on a bend ore a cornishe choughe pp betwixt two sinquefoiles asure betweene two escaloppes argent On a cheif of the second a Rose betweene two demye fleure de lices of the feild, and for his creast two lyones heades rased endorcid asure and ore collarid and ringed counterchangid beinge situate vppon a Torse or & b. on a healmert with mantles of gueles doublid argent as more playniye apperith depictid in this Margent. To haue and hold the said Armes and creast etc. And he the same Armes and creast to use beare enioy and shewe forth etc. In witenesse wherof I the said Garter principall kinge of Armes haue caused these Lefes Patente to be mad etc. dated the 1 of June 1573 Anno Regni Reginæ Elizabth decimo quinto.

This is to all intents and purposes a *grant*, and *not* a "Confirmation," as it is called in a small MS. in the College, entitled "Dethick's Gifts" (p. 31); and proves that the assignment to Sir William was considered as restricted to him and his descendants. Robert Peter married but had no issue, so that the coat No. 2 is limited to the descendants of Sir William, and should be the only impalement used for Dorothy in the adopted arms of Wadham College. I now come to coat No. 3, simpler and therefore heraldically better than either of the others. You will not require to be told by me that the plainer the device of a shield, the older, as a rule, it is sure to be; for as personal cognizances multiplied they necessarily became more charged, more complicated, and specially by the care the heralds had to avoid any confusion or interference with a previously known or recognized bearing. A plain shield indicated antiquity; and so it was, I presume, when John Petre, Sir William's son, was created Baron Petre of Writtle, in 1603, although he had up to that time borne his father's arms (which, by the way, are impaled for him with his wife's (Waldegrave) in Borley Church in this county), preferred to strike out not only the chief and its charges, but the Cornish chough and cinquefoils on the bend. We have no document extant authorizing this change; but that it was sanctioned is proved by the admission of the simple shield to the first Lord Petre in a MS. in the College of his date.

Having given you a reason why men should prefer plain



to complicated shields, and as a specimen of the process by which Lord Petre's wish was probably gratified, I will read you an extract from a patent by Robert Cooke (Clarenceux) in 1576, whereby, at the solicitation of Thomas Honywood, the ancestor of the present Kentish Baronet, he denuded his then coat of some of its superfluities, and made it more to the taste of the bearer. The extract is as follows:—

EXTRACT FROM A PATENT UNDER THE HAND OF ROBERT COOKE  
CLARENCEUX DATED 10 NOV. 1576.

"WHEREAS anciently from the beginninge the valiaunt and vertuous actes of excellent persons haue ben comended to the worlde and posteritie with sondrey monumentes and remembrances of their goode desearthes: Emongest the which the chieftest and most usuall hath ben the bearinge of signes and tokens in Shieldees called Armes which are euident demonstracions of prowesse and valoir diuersly distributed accordinge to the qualities and desearthes of the persons merytinge the same, which as it was prudently deuised in the beginninge to stirre up and kindle the hartes of men the imitation of vertue and noblesse: euen so hath the same ben from tyme to tyme and yet is continually obserued to the entent that such as haue don comendable seruice to theyr Prince or Contrey either in warre or peace may therfore receaue due honor in their lyues, and also deryue the same successiue to their posteritie for euer Emonge the which nombre *Thomas Honywoode of Sende in Newington juxta Hythe in the County of Kent Esquire* being one of the berars of those tokens of honor that is to say of Armes and Creast, by just descent from his ancestors, which notwithstandinge to the knowledge of such as be skilfull in the facultie, being founde to be overmuch intricate with the confuse mixture of meny thinges in one Shielde contrary to the comendable and best allowed maner of bearinge Armes: hath required me the sayd Clarencieulx King of Arms as well in his owne name, as in the names of his brethern and all other the descendentes from the body of *John Honywoode sometyme of Casebourne in the Countie aforesayd his Graundfather* to gratify him in the reformation therof: Wherefore in consideracion of the equitie of his sayd request and in respect of his owne worthines I have thought goode to yealde them my healde in the same describinge unto them their Armes and Creast or Coignoyssance as followeth."

The plain coat, No. 3, has ever since been borne, and honorably borne, by the descendants of the first Lord Petre; and although I have noticed that others of the name use it, they can have no possible right to do so. Lord Petre's right is abundantly admitted on the College Records, and I apprehend that he might, if he chose, use the coat of Sir William Petre, as the first of his quarterings after his simplified shield.

In the Visitation of Essex in 1634, there are four descents

of Petre entered, and the simple shield, which had then been many years in use (C. 21, 92<sup>B</sup>). In the Visitation of Gloucestershire in 1623, there are four descents of Petre of Henbery and Bristol, deriving from John Petre of Penhow, Co. Devon (C. 17 129<sup>B</sup>). There is no coat entered; and in the Visitation of 1683 (K. 5, 348) George Petre of this family disclaimed his right to arms, which, as he sprung from Devonshire, and was probably of common origin with the Peters of Tor Brian and Bowhay, is some confirmation of my theory that they were not anciently entitled. In the Visitation of Bucks in 1634 (C. 26, 11), there are three descents of Peter (the attestation is "Peters") dating from a William Peter, who was born in Dorsetshire. Here again there are no arms. Lastly, in the Visitation of London in 1687 (K. 9, 22 and 162), there are pedigrees of four descents from Richard Peter of Dallow in the Co. of Devon, whose representatives produced as their arms on a steel seal the coat No. 2; but the herald detecting it as that of Sir William Petre, has added this note: "This family can have no right thereto except they prove their descent from him."

I submit that these entries of descents from west country Petres and Peters go far to show that there were no early arms, and that I am not unreasonable in my reading of the case—viz., that Sir William first had a grant between 1545 and 1550; that thirteen years later substantially the same coat was allowed to his brother, John Peter of Tor Brian and family. That to the first Lord (and from the date of his peerage only) is attributable the simple shield as now borne; and that although we can readily see how this latter became interpolated at Wadham College, even before its building was completed, the *proper* coat to be impaled with Wadham, as the cognizance of that College, is that special one which was assigned to Sir William Petre.

ON SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED BRITANNO ROMAN  
INSCRIPTIONS.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.

My last paper on the Roman inscriptions found in Britain leaving completed the list of those discovered previously to the publication of Dr. Hübner's work upon the subject (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii.) in June, 1873, I now propose to give a list of those found from June, 1873, to the end of the year 1875, in number about fifty.

As usual, the stations on the great Wall of Hadrian have yielded the largest proportion. Proceeding along the course of the Wall from the east end, the first station which has yielded an inscription is Newcastle-on-Tyne. Here in June, 1875, in dredging the river near the new Tyne Bridge, a fine altar was found broken in three parts, but each part was brought to the surface by the dredger. It bore the inscription—

NEPTVNO . LE .

VI VI

P . F

*i.e., Neptuno Legio Sexta Victrix Pia Fidelis*, "To Neptune, the Sixth Legion Valiant and Victorious." On its face, between the commencement and termination of the second and third lines, it is richly sculptured with a trident, having a dolphin twisted round its handle.

This inscription I think extremely interesting, for the question arises, on what possible occasion could *the whole of the Legion* dedicate this altar? As dedications to Neptune were invariably made at the commencement or termination of a sea voyage, the only occasion that seems possible was the arrival of the legion in Britain. This leads us to ask, did it disembark in the Tyne? From this altar we infer that such was the case. The legion came to Britain with

Hadrian *circa* A.D. 120. At or about the same time (as we know from an inscription found at Ferentinum) vexillations, each a thousand strong, of the 7th, 8th, and 22nd legions, came to this island. We find a trace of the vexillation of the 8th in the shield of a soldier of that legion, bearing his name, found at the bar at Tynemouth, where he and others had probably been drowned in disembarking. On the safe disembarkation of the 6th legion, it no doubt set up this altar. Had it landed at Richborough or Dover, the altar would certainly have been set up there, instead of waiting until the march from Kent to Northumberland had been accomplished.

In all probability as the legion came to Britain from Germany, it embarked at a Dutch or North German port, and crossed direct to the Tyne.<sup>1</sup>

At Rutchester (*Vindobala*), the fourth station on the line of the Wall, Dr. Bruce found in January, 1875, two inscriptions recently taken out of old walls. They were—

(1.)	(2.)
▷ ARRI	VE FV
	OGEN . S
	VIT. FELIC (Lap. Sept. Nos. 920, 921)

Of the first, which simply reads *Centuria Arrii*, two other examples have been found, and are now preserved in the Newcastle Museum. Of the second little can be said, as it is only a fragment. In the second line we have probably *Genio Sancto*, and in the third *Vitellii Felicis*. Both of these inscriptions have been removed to the Newcastle Museum. At the same time, Dr. Bruce found a centurial stone built upside down into the wall of the stackyard, close to the ground. (Lap. Sept. No. 918). It bore the inscription—

IIIII  
OPEDIOVI

The first line may, as Dr. Bruce suggests, have originally read *Cohortis tertiæ*, and the second *centuria Pediovi*. It is worthy of remark, however, that the o in the second line,

<sup>1</sup> See my letter on this, in the Newcastle *Daily Journal*, July 31st, 1875. The author of the review of the Lapida-

rium Septentrionale, in the Arch. Journ., vol. xxxii. p. 337, adopts my suggestion.

resembles a q in the original. Dr. Bruce also brought under public notice, at the same time, an altar found about 1820, at Stella or Axwell, in the same neighbourhood, and hitherto inedited. It is now preserved at Dunston Hill, the seat of R. Carr Ellison, Esq., but the inscription is hardly visible. The following letters *are said to be* upon it (*Lap. Sept.* p. 464)—

DO . SVIT  
INSTVL  
SILVANV  
SSMGSS

It is impossible from this to extract any meaning.

During the excavation made by Mr. Clayton (the owner) in the forum at Chesters (*Cilurnum*) in February, 1875, there was brought to light a fine slab, bearing the following inscription—

. ALVIS AVGG  
. ELIX ALA II ASTVR  
..... A

VIRTVS  
AVGG

The first letter in each of the two first lines is broken off. The third line has been purposely erased in the Roman period. The reading appears to be *Salvis Augustis felix ala secunda Asturum Antoniniana*, and as Dr. Bruce interprets it, "So long as the Emperors are safe, the second *ala* of the Asturians will be happy." It is uncertain which Emperors were meant. At any rate, one of them has become unpopular, and been slain by the soldiery or populace, as the second G at the end of the first line has been partially erased (evidently with the intention of obliterating it altogether), and the epithet (probably *Antoniniana*) borne by the cohort has been totally obliterated in the third line, with the exception of the last A. This inscription is on a tablet with a moulding round it, and which is supported by a soldier bearing a standard, on which latter is cut the smaller inscription, reading *Virtus Augustorum*. Here also the erasure of the second G in AVGG has been attempted.

At the same time there was also found, "on a stone of one of the pillars near the south-east angle of the Forum," the following inscription—

BVYO

What this may mean is unknown. The second *v* has a stroke like a tail turning towards the left, making it somewhat similar to the letter *y*.

At Carrawburgh (*Procolitia*), Mr. Clayton has excavated the remains of a villa on the west side of the station, in the rooms of which were found the following inscribed altar and four sepulchral inscriptions, which are given by Dr. Bruce in the appendix to the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*—

(1.)

DAE . FOR  
VITALIS  
FECIT  
LIB . MER.

(3.)

H . I . BAT  
I . HILARIO  
HEREDES . F . C .

(2.)

D M  
AEL . COMINDO  
ANNORVM XXXII  
NOBILIANVS . DEC V  
CONIVGI . CARISSIM . P

(4.)

M  
S . MILENI  
FERO  
I . BAT

(5.)

D  
LONGI  
BVC . C

No. 1, which is an altar only 14 in. high, had a ring attached to the top of it for the convenience of carrying. Its reading is *D(e)ae For(tunae) Vitalis fecit lib(ens) mer(ito)* (*Lap. Sept.* No. 924.), "To the goddess Fortune, Vitalis made this willingly to a deserving object."

The tombstone (No. 2) which had been used as a flooring stone, is rather interesting from the fact of the *cognomen* of the deceased lady being a masculine one. Though peculiar, this is not exceptional, as several examples occur upon the Continent. Dr. McCaul instances *Aelia Demetrus* and

*Clodia Optatus*. The reading is *Diis Manibus Aeliae Comindo annorum triginta duo Nobilianus decurio conjugii carissimae posuit*, "To the Divine shades. To Aelia Comindus of thirty-two years (of age), Nobilianus a decurion to (his) dearest wife placed (this)" Above the inscription is a representation of the table on which the last feast was spread. This is No. 926. *Lap. Sept.*

Of No. 3 (which is 927 *Lap. Sept.*) little can be made out, the reading of what is left is plainly, *cohortis primae Batavorum . . . . Hilario, Heredes faciendum curaverunt*. It commemorates a soldier of the first cohort of the Batavians, whose heirs (*heredes*), one of whom was named *Hilarius*, caused this monument to be made.

No. 4 is also a fragment of a tombstone of a soldier, probably the standard bearer (*signifer*), of the first cohort of the Batavians. His *cognomen* appears to have been *Milenus*. What remains is to be read (*Diis*) *M(anibus)* . . . . *S Mileni (signi) fero cohortis primae Batavorum*. This is No. 929 *Lap. Sept.*

No. 5 is another fragment of a tombstone, and commemorates a trumpeter (*buccinator*) of probably the same cohort. His name appears to have been *Longinus* (No. 928 *Lap. Sept.*)

In the summer of 1874, an altar was found in the middle of this same station (*Procolitia*), bearing the following inscription—

GENIO  
HVIVSLO  
CI TEXAND  
ET SV . . . .  
VEX COHOR  
II NERVIOR  
VM

The fourth line is at the end very indistinct, but the remaining letters are either AVIS or NVC. Professors Hübner and Müllenhoff read it and the end of the third line as *Texandri et Sunuci*, the names of two tribes who were neighbours of the *Nervii*, and thus suggesting that a detachment of these tribes were serving in the Nervian cohort. The whole would then read—*Genio hujus loci Texand(ri) et Su(nuci) vexillarii cohortis secundae Nerviorum, i. e., "To the Genius of this*

place the Texandri, and Sunuci, vexillarii of the second cohort of the Nervii." Dr. Bruce thinks that the fourth line is *et Suavis*, and that the altar was erected by two persons named Texander and Suavis, who were *vexillarii*, or standard bearers of the cohort. As the fourth line is so indistinct, either of these readings may be adopted.

Soon afterwards there was discovered at the same station the upper right hand corner of a large inscribed slab. Divested of ligatures, it appears to read

VI  
IANER.

but it is impossible to extract its meaning. (*Lap. Sept.* No. 940).

During the summer of 1875, an altar bearing the inscription

MINERVAE  
QVNAS  
TR. CHICI  
VSLM

was found. This is a puzzling inscription. Dr. Bruce and Mr. Clayton read it as *Minervae Quinias praefectus cohortis primae Civium Romanorum votum solvit libens merito*. No letter I is visible at present in the second line, but in accordance with this reading I think it probable that that letter was ligulate with both the v and n. In the third line the letters t and r are to me plainly ligulate, but Dr. Bruce thinks the ligulate form is PR. Of the remainder of this line I would read it c . H . I CI, and expand it as *cohortis primae Celtiberorum* as the first cohort of the Celtiberi was, as we know from the Sydenham tabula, at one time in Britain. What remains after the last c seems to be simply a perpendicular stroke, and is not sufficient to warrant c . R. when we have previously had no intimation of such a cohort as one composed solely of Roman citizens being in this island. Examples of *cohortes civium Romanorum*, however, occur on the Continent. I would thus read the whole, "To Minerva, Quinias, tribune of the first cohort of the *Celtiberi* willingly performs his vow to a deserving object."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> From subsequent discoveries at *Procolitia* it is probable that instead of the *Celtiberi*, the first cohort of the *Cugerni* is meant.



The whole of these inscriptions found at *Cilurnum* and *Procolitia* are preserved by John Clayton, Esq., in his Museum at Chester.

Proceeding from the wall to its supporting stations there was found on the 22nd December, 1873, by Mr. Humphrey Senhouse, outside the Roman station at Ellenborough, a fine slab inscribed—

IOVI OPTIM. MAXI.  
CAPITOLINO  
PRO SALVT AN  
TONINI AVG  
PII POSTVMI  
VS ACILIANVS  
PRAEF COH. I. DELM.

It was in one of the series of small round pits, where in 1870 seventeen Roman altars were discovered, and was found lying on its face four feet deep. It is 2 ft. 7 in. broad, by 2 ft. in height, and the inscription is flanked by handsome lunette ornaments. This officer (Postumius Acilianus) has left several inscribed altars at the same station. The inscription is of the time of Antoninus Pius, and evidently reads, "*Jovi Optimo Maximo Capitolino pro salute Antonini Augusti Pii, Postumius Acilianus praefectus cohortis primae Delmatorum,*" i.e., "To Capitoline Jove, the best, the greatest, for the safety of Antoninus Augustus the Pious, Postumius Acilianus praefect of the first cohort of the Dalmatians" (erected this). It is the only known dedication to the Capitoline Jupiter found in Britain.

At Brougham in 1874, there were found outside the Roman station there, an inscribed altar and a sepulchral stone, which were at the time communicated to me by Lord Brougham. The altar is engraved by Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (No. 941, Appendix), but his reading of the inscription upon it, is I think very erroneous. Having been found lying with the inscribed face uppermost, the latter has suffered much from the effects of moisture, and is also much worn. I received a photograph of it from Dr. Bruce, and also a cast from Lord Brougham. Dr. Bruce said that all he and Dr. Hübner could then make out were the first and last lines, but he gave me his guesses at the

remainder. His reading of the whole inscription at this time appears to have been—

“ DEOMARTI  
 . . . . . BOS  
 . . . . . IANVARIO  
 . . ISNEOS  
 . . . . . NICIANO  
 DOMV . . . .  
 PRO SE ET SOVIS.”

From careful inspection of the photograph and cast, I read the inscription—

DEOMARTI . S  
 AN DEABVS DIIISQ  
 . . . . . NVMERIV.  
 . . XHIS . . . . .  
 STRATONICIANO  
 . . . . . M  
 PRO SE ET SVIS.

The A and N at the commencement of the second line are ligulate, and the whole of the line seemed to me very clear. What Dr. Bruce takes for an o in the last line in his reading SOVIS seemed to me to be clearly one of the usual leaf stops, as it had a tail like a q. On my forwarding the photograph to Mr. C. Roach Smith he confirmed my reading of the inscription, and suggested that the commencement of the 6th line was ROMA (*norum*).

Subsequently to receiving my reading, Lord Brougham, from the cast and from the altar itself (which is now in his possession) gave the following reading—

“ DEO MARTI  
 N . DEALVCIIISQ  
 SRNVMERIV  
 . . HISNTOO  
 . . PATONICIANO  
 ROAM . . . . . M  
 PRO SE ET SQVIS,”

thus partially confirming my reading of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th,

and 5th lines. Now Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium* gives the reading—

" DEO MARTI  
 . . . . .  
 AVR. IANVARIVS  
 EX. III . . . NEQQ  
 . . STRATONICIANO  
 ROMA VM  
 PRO SE ET SOVIS,"

thus still ignoring the second line (one of the clearest). The third and commencement of the fourth lines as given by Dr. Bruce are different from any other reading, and I think quite wrong. The NEQQ at the end of the third line is, I believe, correct, Lord Brougham having been mistaken in reading them as N. TOO. In the fifth line Dr. Bruce adopts my reading of STRATONICIANO, but leaves a space for other letters before the s, which certainly does not exist on the stone. His adoption of Mr. Roach Smith's ROMA in the sixth line is also erroneous, but his seventh line is correct with the exception of the leaf stop being counted as a letter.

Lately I received another copy of the same photograph of the stone from Dr. Bruce, and by careful observation of it, and the use of a powerful glass, made out that the sixth line is DONAVIT ARAM, and that the whole inscription should read thus, as far as it can be made out:—

DEO MARTI. S  
 ANDEA(B)VS DIHSQ  
 . . . NVMERIVS  
 EX HIS. NEQQ  
 STRATONICIANO  
 DONAVITARAM  
 PRO SE ET SVIS.

In English—A soldier, whose name was Numerius, a Spaniard, and whose regiment appears to have been the *Numerus Equitum Stratonicianorum* gives this altar for himself and his family to the holy god Mars, to the goddesses and gods. The peculiarity of three i's in DIHS will be noticed.

The tombstone which is incomplete is more simple. The

upper portion is lost, as are likewise some of the last letters of the two first lines which remain. As it stands it is this—

PLVM . .

LVNARI .

TITVLPOS

CONIVGI

CARISI

M

Dr. Bruce's reading (*Diis Manibus*) *Plumae Lunarís titulum posuit conjugí carissimæ*, is certainly wrong. I think that Dr. McCaul is correct when in his review of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* in the *Canadian Journal*, he states that the first line stands for *Plu(s) M(inus)*, and that the name of the deceased, with the number of years she lived, has preceded it. The husband being uncertain whether the age was stated correctly, has added after the numerals *plus minus* (more or less); the remainder *Lunarís titulum posuit conjugí carissimæ*, tells us that Lunarís placed this to his dearest wife. The only other example of the phrase *plus minus* found in England, occurs at this same station, Brougham (*Lap. Sept.* No. 814.)

At South Shields where (at the Lawe) the site of a Roman station was known to exist, great excavations were made during the spring and summer of 1875, with the result of laying bare the walls and gateways of the station and many interesting buildings within it. A large number of miscellaneous articles were discovered, but the only inscriptions brought to light were—

(1.)

COH. V. G

(2.)

. . OCVLVS. PP.

(3.)

A. G

The first of these occurs on a number of tiles. When the first fragment of one of these tiles was found the Secretary of the Excavation Committee sent me a copy of it asking for a reading. The letters given in his copy were HVC. I replied that in my opinion the last letter was G not C, and that the tile when whole was inscribed COH. V. G, i.e., *Cohors quinta Gallorum*. As, however, this gentleman (Mr. Blair) assured me that the letter was C, I concluded that *Cohors quinta Callaecorum* might be intended. Future discoveries,

however, made it plain that my first conjecture was right, several tiles with the inscription COH. V. G having been found, so that the fragment first discovered probably bore an imperfect impression.

This 5th cohort of the Gauls has left an inscribed altar at Cramond near Edinburgh, and which is now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in that city.

The second inscription is merely a portion of the last line of an inscribed tablet, the moulding of which runs immediately beneath the letters. Both the commencement and termination of the line are wanting, but I take the remainder to be part of the words (PR)OCVLVS. PP., i.e., *Proculus prae-positus*, the abbreviation FEC. or POS., for *fecit* or *posuit* having probably followed it.

The third inscription, which consists solely of the letters A. C. occurs on several small stones and tiles found at the station. The local antiquaries (with whom I have had considerable correspondence) are very anxious to interpret this as *A(elia) C(lassica)* and thus identify the station with the *Tunnocelum* of the *Notitia*. Were the *Cohors Aelia Classica* meant, I think we should have the abbreviations COH. AEL. CL. or at least AE. CL. and my opinion is, that *at present* the balance of evidence is in favour of *Tunnocelum* having been on the western coast of England rather than the eastern, but until further discoveries occur, the question must remain an open one.

The following *graffiti* inscriptions occur on pieces of "Samian" ware found at this station :—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
LINDITI .	REMLI .	NETIPII .

They are probably the names of the owners of the vessels. Of the third name, I am not sure whether I have given the right reading. The letters TIP in the centre are ligulate, the right hand upper portion of the T is attached to the bow of the P, and the I is formed by a prolongation of the perpendicular stroke upwards.

Leaving the mural neighbourhood, I will now proceed to the site of an ancient Roman town, situated at Charterhouse in Mendip, Somersetshire, where in the autumn of 1873, in gathering together the scorixæ of lead, left on the surface by

the Roman miners, and now smelted by a company formed for the purpose, the following inscribed masses of lead were found. They are described by the Rev. H. M. Scarth in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 188.

(1)	(2)
IMP. CAES. ANTONINI. AVG. PII. P. P.	IMP. VESPASIA . . .
(3)	(4)
. . . . NTONINI	
. . . . CORVM	. . . MENIA . . .

The first is an inscription to Antoninus Pius, and is to be expanded—*Imperatoris Caesaris Antonini Augusti Pii Patris Patriae*. The pig on which it occurs is over 18 in. long by 8 in. broad at the bottom, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. on the upper or inscribed surface, and is heavier than any yet found in Britain, its weight being 223 lbs. Two similar pigs bearing exactly the same inscription were found in 1866 on the bank of the river Frome at Bristol, and had evidently come from the same mine. (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 277.)

The second inscription is on a portion of another inscribed mass of lead of an entirely different shape. In its present state this mass is 15 in. long,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. It bears the name of *Vespasian*, who reigned A.D. 69-79, is beautifully lettered, and has more the appearance of a thick sheet of lead.

The third inscription is on a portion of a similar mass, which is only 8 in. long,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an in. thick. Its inscription, when entire, has probably been identical with one found at Bruton, in Somersetshire, in the last century, which ran

IMP DVOR AVG ANTONINI  
ET VERI ARMENIACORVM

It will be seen that the right-hand portion of this inscription is the same as that recently found. It refers to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and its date is between A.D. 164 and A.D. 169.

The fourth inscription is evidently another portion of an identically lettered mass of lead, being part of the word (AR)MENIA(CORVM), but the lead is in this case only  $\frac{1}{2}$  an

in. thick. A block of lead similar to these, but bearing the name of the Emperor Claudius, was found in the sixteenth century at Wookey Hole, near Bruton, Somersetshire, and is described by Leland in his *Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 45, which he considered a "trophy." These recent discoveries, however, settle the question as to the shape and dimensions of the former, which was certainly only an ordinary block bearing the imperial stamp; but it is now lost.

At the same time that these discoveries were made, two fragments of inscriptions on stone were found as follows:—

(1)	(2)
DOMINO	NN
SEPTIMI	RI
	FI

The first is plainly a dedication to the Emperor Septimius Severus, either alone or with his sons, for the first line may be either *Domino* or part of the word *Dominorum*. The second, from the letters NN has probably also been a dedication to some of the conjoint Roman Emperors, but it is too fragmentary for more to be made out of it. I am indebted to the Rev. H. M. Scarth for copies of these inscriptions. Since these were found, Mr. Scarth informs me, that in pulling down an old house in Charterhouse, a portion of an inscribed stone was found, the letters remaining on which were

. M  
AVG  
VO . RES  
ROB FECIT  
IVGENI  
IONOR MA  
ORM IPS  
IC . . R

It will be seen the first half of the lines is wanting. From the M standing alone at the end of the first line, with a leaf stop, the stone is, no doubt, a sepulchral one—this line reading as usual *D(iis) M(anibus)*. The second line is peculiar, and I think may have been misread; if correct, the name of a soldier and MIL . LEG . II . has probably preceded the AVG (. . . . . *Miles legionis secundae Augustae*),

but I think this would be impossible for want of space. In the third line we may have part of the words (*de s*)*uores(tituit)* and in the fourth (*So*)*ror fecit*. The fifth, I think, has borne the word *INGENVI*, the *v* being ligulate with the second *N*. In the sixth we have possibly *Honor(ata) Ma(ter)*. In the seventh line the termination is probably part of the word *Ips(ius)*. The last line is too far gone for any attempt at restoration.<sup>3</sup>

At Sea Mills, on the Avon, near Bristol, where there are undoubted traces of a Roman station supposed to be the *Abone* of the 14th Iter of Antoninus, and where numerous remains of buildings, coins, fibulæ, urns, &c., have been found from time to time, there was discovered on the 31st March, 1873, 6 in. below the surface of the ground, an inscribed sepulchral stone bearing the following inscription—

SPES

C . SENTI

There is a leaf stop preceding and following the word *SPES*. Above it is the bust of a female with ear-rings and a rude representation of hair. On the left side of the bust is a well-carved figure of a dog, on the right the figure of a cock. Above the head is a small star of five rays. The bust is surrounded by a semicircular line. The present height of the stone is 1 ft. 10 in., but it is more than doubtful whether it is the whole of the original tombstone. There appears to be a portion broken off at the base. It was first published in the Bristol papers by Mr. I. F. Nicholls of the Bristol City Library. That gentleman sent me in May of the same year a woodcut of the stone, asking for a reading and explanation of the inscription. I gave the opinion that it was erected to a favourite daughter by her father Caius Sentius, who looked upon her as his "hope," or "joy," or "delight," and that the animals carved on each side of the bust were merely representations of her pets. I sent the wood-cut to my friend Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., who had the stone photographed

<sup>3</sup> In the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxxii. p. 136, it is said that Dr. Hübner, "with great reserve," gives the following restoration of the inscription—

(D). M  
(C . CORNELIO) . AVG  
(TO . FRATRIS) VO RES  
TITVTA SO) ROE . FECIT

(MILITI COHORTIS) IV. CENT.

FLAVI(I) HONOR(I) MA(XIMI)

"But," the account adds, "there are many difficulties, and Mr. C. Roach Smith reads it rather as a votive, than a funeral tablet." I still hold the view that the inscription is sepulchral, but regard Dr. Hübner's reading as utterly unwarranted.



and pronounced it Mithraic; the head he considered to be that of Mithras crowned, and the dog and cock Mithraic emblems. This view he subsequently published (see Proc. Soc. of Antiq. vol. vi., 2nd series, p. 68, where also the views of all the other writers named below are given). The Rev. H. M. Scarth considered it to be Christian, and that the dog and cock were Christian emblems. The Cavaliere Visconti took much the same view. Dr. McCaul thought it might be either Pagan or Christian. The Cavaliere de Rossi, Mr. A. W. Franks, and Professor Hübner, took the same view as myself, so far as regards its being a *Pagan Roman* tombstone; but only the latter agreed with me as to the animals being pets or play-fellows of the deceased, and as to a *daughter* of Caius Sentius being commemorated, whilst Mr. Franks and Mr. Scarth considered it commemorated his *wife*, and that her name was *Spes*. Dr. Hübner also considers *Spes* as a proper name, and in this he may possibly be right, as there are many examples of it. In any case the reading is *Spes C(aii) Senti(i)*.

I recently inspected, at the British Museum, a Roman tile, which bore upon it the inscription—

D. N. VOC.

My friend Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., had previously informed me of its existence. It was found lately in Cannon Street, London. Both Mr. Smith and myself read it as *D(ecuria) N(umeri) Voc(ontiorum)*. An *ala* of the *Vocontii* have left an inscription on an altar at Eildon, in Scotland, and there is apparently a trace of them in a fragmentary inscription in the museum at York.

I also noticed at the same time a fragment of a Roman tile found in London which seems not to have been noticed. Most of the tiles found in the City are inscribed P. P. BRI. LON. but the fragment I refer to bears the letters—

P. BRI. SAN.

Is it probable that these abbreviations represent the words *Britanniae Sanctae* which occur upon an altar found at York in 1740? (Gough's Camden, vol. iii., p. 303; Wellbeloved's Eburacum, p. 92.)

A few days previously, I had noticed in the City of London

Museum, at the Guildhall, a small white (apparently marble) slab, said to have been found in Basing Lane, London, in 1852, inscribed—

D            M  
 ONESIMO . VIX . AN . XIII  
 DOMITIVS ELAINVS PATER .  
 FILIO . B . M .

*i. e., D(iis) . M(anibus) Onesimo vixit annos xiii Domitius Elainus Pater Filio B(ene) M(erenti).* I am not satisfied, however, that this is a genuine Anglo-Roman inscription. From its size and material, it looks very like one of the numerous inscriptions which occur in the *columbaria* of Italy, and may have been brought thence, like many other similar inscriptions now extant in England.

In a field between Great Horwood and Winslow (co. Bucks), there was found, in 1873, a Roman silver drinking cup, containing several other articles of silver, including two spoons with oval bowls, decorated with a kind of ribbed or feathery pattern. One of the bowls bears the inscription—

VENERIA . VIVAS

(Proc. Soc. of Antiq., vol. vi., 2nd series, p. 81.) Inscriptions of this nature frequently occur. *MISE VIVAS* is on a ring found on the Gog Magog Hills, Cambridgeshire; and *VOLANTI VIVAS* on the back of a large altar found at Ellenborough. Its meaning is simply, in this case, “Veneria, may'st thou live,” or “Long life to thee, Veneria.”

In September, 1873, at the High Cross in Leicester, some workmen, at about 10 ft. from the surface of the ground, came upon a small piece of drab coloured or bluish lias limestone, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, with a quadrangular termination nearly  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. square, on which is cut a circular medallion, bearing a reversed inscription, like a seal, in two lines, reading—

C . PAL  
 GRACILIS

Underneath this inscription, which appears never to have been finished, as there are lines marked on the stone as if for the purpose of continuing it, is the representation of a gro-

tesque human head. This stone was first noticed by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the *Builder*, Nov. 15, 1873, and subsequently by Mr. Franks in the *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. vi. (2nd series), p. 272. Professor Hübner reads it as *C(aii) Pal(furii) Gracilis*. Roman glass and pottery were found near it. Mr. Franks thinks that it has been intended for an oculist's stamp similar to that found at Wroxeter (*Archæological Journal*, vol. vii., p. 358), and that the name of the drug was intended originally to be engraved, on the parallel lines, but that idea being abandoned, the head was subsequently scratched on it. It is now in the Leicester Museum.

At Leicester, also, in North Bond Street, was found, in 1874, in excavating for the foundations of additional premises for Messrs. Fielding and Johnson, a large quantity of Roman pottery, "Samian" ware, Castor and Upchurch ware, some vessels bearing the potters' names, and three fragments of Roman glass vessels of a bluish green colour, coated in parts with a prismatic incrustation. Two of the fragments are simply ribbed or fluted, but the third is enriched with figures of gladiators (or soldiers) about an inch in height. Only two of these figures are entire; they bear a short sword with a shield, and are helmeted similar to those found on Samian ware, and on glass in London, &c. An inscription has run along the upper margin of the bowl, of which the following portion remains—

— VS SPICVLVS COLVMBVS CALAM —

which probably gave the names of the gladiators beneath it. The figures are in relief, and the vessel, which is 3 in. in diameter, would appear to have been moulded in two portions. This is also, I believe, in the Leicester Museum. That this vessel came from the Continent seems certain from a similar drinking vessel of yellow glass bearing an almost identical inscription (if not exactly similar) having been found at Chavagnes in La Vendée in 1848. It is engraved by M. A. Deville in his "*Histoire de la Verrerie*" (Paris, 1873), pl. xlix. fig. A, and is inscribed SPICVLVS COLVMBVS CALAMVS HOLES PETRAITES PRVDES PROCVLVS COCVMBVS.

Somewhat similar to this is the fragment of another glass cup found at Canterbury, and in the possession of Mr. J. Brent there, embellished with the figure of a *quadriga* being

driven by a charioteer. It also has borne an inscription above the figures, of which only the termination (in relief) of a name is visible as follows:—

— MVS .

(Proc. Soc. Antiq., vol. vi. 2nd series, p. 377.)

At Chester, in June, 1874, in the course of some excavations on the Roodee for a new sewer, outside the walls of the city, a Roman tombstone was found, in fair preservation, about 3 ft. from the surface. It is formed of red sandstone, and bears the inscription—

D . M .

FL . CALLIMOR

PHI . VIX . ANI . XXXXII

ET SERAPIONI . VIX

ANN . III . M . VI . THESA

EVS . FRATRI ET FILIO

F . C .

*i. e., Diis Manibus Flavii Callimorphi vixit annis xxxxii et Serapioni vixit annis iii mensibus vi. Thesaeus fratri et filio faciendum curavit.* “To the divine shades of Flavius Callimorphus, who lived forty-two years, and of Serapion who lived three years and six months, Thesaeus to (his) brother and son caused (this) to be made.” Above the inscription is the representation of a recumbent figure of an adult and a child, and a table on which is a lamp and three urns. The whole is surmounted by a pediment, and, with the exception of this particular feature, is very similar to a tombstone discovered at Chester in 1861, and now preserved at the Water Tower Museum in the same city. (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. pl. viii. fig. 1). The recently discovered stone, which is 4 ft. in height, 2 ft. 4 in. broad and 7 in. in thickness, is now preserved in the Museum of the Chester Archæological Society.

At Caerleon, during the year 1874, there was found a stone tablet 18 in. long by 6 in. wide, bearing within an ornamental border an inscription, given by Mr. King in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii. p. 330, as—

COH . II . 7 LIVIANA	P	X
	F	X
		II
		X

I have not seen the stone itself, but from a squeeze sent to me by Mr. J. E. Lee of Caerleon, I have not the least hesitation in saying that this is an erroneous reading. The commencement is certainly COH . II . 7 FLA ; after this only the upper portion of two or three letters seems visible, and at the end of the word is an inverted A. The letters P . F following, are also inverted, and the numerals at the close are thus arranged—

X  
II  
X  
X

Mr. King's expansion, too, *Liviniana*, seems very singular ; but until the stone is correctly read it would be premature to discuss the point.

At the "ballast hole," near the railway station at Biggleswade (Beds), there was found, at the commencement of 1873, a Roman oculist's stamp. Numerous examples of this class of antiquities have previously been found both in Britain and on the Continent. The present one is described (Proc. Soc. of Antiq., vol. vi. 2nd series, p. 39) as "a piece of quadrilateral steatite, measuring 2 in. by 1½ in. in surface, and ¾ in. in thickness. The four edges or borders bear each of them two lines of inscriptions in small Roman capitals, incuse and reversed, and consequently reading from right to left. The sides or top and bottom of the stamp have in this case also inscriptions of a graffiti character and reading from left to right. The edges of the stamp are more or less bevelled."

The inscriptions on the edges as they at present exist, and being freed from ligatures, are—

C . VAL . AMANDI  
DIOXVM AD . REVMATIC

C . VAL . AMANDI  
STACTVM AD . CA .

C . VAL . VALENTINI  
DIAGLAVC POST IMP . LIP

C . VAL . VALENTINI

MIXTVM . AD . CL

"The *graffiti* on the top and bottom, two on each, are merely ready indications to the person using it which stamp he was to take. For example, near inscription 1 are scratched the letters DIOX; near inscription 2 we have STAC. Turning it up the other side we have, near the edge of 3, DIAGLAVC, and near the edge of 4, MIXT."

There appears to be the peculiarity on this stone of two oculists, Caius Valerius Amandus and Caius Valerius Valentinus being named; probably they were relatives.

The first inscription should be expanded—*Caii Valerii Amandi Diorum ad Reumatica*, "The Diorum of Caius Valerius Amandus for Rheumatica," probably, as Mr. C. Knight Watson observes, meaning "runnings at the eyes." The word DIOXVM enables us to read correctly the inscription on one of these stamps found at Bath in 1731, and of which much has been written both in England and on the Continent, especially by Sir J. Y. Simpson in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, March, 1851, and by Dr. McCaul (*Br. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 179).

The inscription No. 2 is to be read, judging from other examples, *Caii Valerii Amandi Stactum ad Caliginem*, "The Stactum of Caius Valerius Amandus for blindness."

No. 3 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Diaglaucium post impetum Lippitudinis*, "The Diaglaucium of Caius Valerius Valentinus (to be applied) after a fit of runnings at the eyes." According to Pliny, this Diaglaucium was made from a kind of poppy.

No. 4 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Mixtum ad Claritudinem*, "The Mixtum of Caius Valerius Valentinus for clearness of the eyes."

In the years 1872-3-4-5 considerable excavations were made at York for the formation of a new railway station. During their progress a large Roman cemetery, outside the wall of the city, was partially cut through in places. Amongst a vast number of interesting remains discovered, including nearly thirty stone sarcophagi, were nine inscriptions, one of which is given by Dr. Hübner (No. 1343, p. 307), but the remainder were found subsequently to the publication of his work. The first of these to be described is a tombstone, 4 ft. high and circular, with a portion of the face cut away

in front to prepare it for the inscription. Only the three first lines of this are legible, which are,—

HYLLO  
ALVMNO  
CARISSIMO  
.....  
.....

It plainly reads, "To Hyllus, the dearest adopted one," and the inscription is very similar to one found at Old Penrith, and now preserved by Lord Lonsdale at Lowther Castle (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 801).

Four other inscriptions found during the same excavations were,—

<p>(1)</p> <p>D . E . O .</p> <p>GENIO</p> <p>LOCI</p> <p>V . S . L . M</p>	<p>(2)</p> <p>MEMORIAE .</p> <p>C . BASSAEI . IVLI</p> <p>..... LICIS . FILI . SVI</p> <p>... VLCISSI . .</p>
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<p>(3)</p> <p>D . M .</p> <p>VLPIAE . FELICISSIMAE</p> <p>QVAE VIXIT . ANNIS</p> <p>.. MENSES . XI . DIES</p> <p>...</p> <p>P . . . . . NT VLPIVS FELIX ET</p> <p>ANDRONICA</p> <p>..... TES</p>	<p>(4)*</p> <p>D . M .</p>
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The first of these occurs upon an altar, three of which were found, but the other two were uninscribed. Its reading is peculiar, *Deo Genio Loci Votum Solvit Libens Merito*, "To the god, the genius of the place, (he) performs his vow willingly to a deserving object." No name is given of the person who dedicated the altar. This is the first occasion in England where the word *Deo* has been found preceding *Genio Loci*. In this case also it has the peculiarity of having a stop between each letter of the word *DEO*.

The second inscription, which is fragmentary, is on a small tablet within a border, and owing to the latter part of

\* This occurs on the side of a sarcophagus, and means simply *D(is) M(anibus)*.

it being lost, its full sense cannot be gathered. What remains seems to read, *Memoriae C(aii) Bassaei Iuli(i) (et Fe)licis Fili(i) Svi (D)ulcissi(mi)*, "To the memory of Caius Bassaeus Julius and of Felix his sweetest son." The name of the wife and mother probably succeeded, as no doubt she erected the stone.

The third inscription is on an *ossuarium* of lead, 18 in. high, which was found full of burnt bones. Within a border on the side of the vessel is the inscription, which should no doubt read—*D(iis) M(anibus) Ulpiae Felicissimae quae vixit annis . . . menses xi (et) dies . . . P(osueru)nt Ulpius Felix et . . . . . Andronica (paren)tes, i. e.,* "To the divine shades of Ulpia Felicissima, who lived . . . years, eleven months and . . . days, Ulpius Felix and . . . . . Andronica (her) parents placed (this)." This is the first vessel of the kind known to have been found in England. The ashes found in it are apparently, from the inscription, those of a young girl, whose age is unfortunately mostly obliterated. The *ossuarium* has a lid with a sort of cupola surmounting it. The names *Ulpius Felix* and *Ulpia Felicissima* occur in inscriptions found in Italy.

The remaining three inscriptions found at York are all most interesting. They are—

(1)

D

M

FL . VI BELLATORIS DEC COL EBORACEN<sup>a</sup>  
VIXIT ANNIS XXVIII MENS

(2)

DOMINE VICTOR  
VINCAS FELIX

(3)

D	VOL . IRE . . . .
	ARIMANI . . . .

The first of these is on the side of a sarcophagus, and gives the first confirmation of the fact of *Eburacum* (or *Eboracum*) having been a Roman *Colonia*. Camden tells us of another sarcophagus having been found at York, mentioning a *sevir* of *Eboracum*, and Dr. Gale (*Antonini Iter Britanniarum*, p. 24), who saw it at Hull, engraves it; so also does Horsley, who saw it at the same place (*Brit. Romana*, Yorkshire, No. 10). The letters *VIR . COL . EBOR*; were perfectly clear to all these authors. Horsley restored

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some of the missing letters, reading it IIIIIIVIR . COL . EBOR ; but succeeding antiquaries have somehow or other looked upon the inscription as doubtfully read. Hence the value of the new discovery, the reading of which appears to be, *D(iis) M(anibus) Fl(a)vi(i) Bellatoris Dec(urionis) Col(onia) Eboracens(is) vixit annos xxviii menses . . .* The remainder, including the whole of the last line, is illegible. The D . M . is on the side of the cover. The translation is, "To the divine shades of Flavius Bellator, a decurion of the Eboracensian colony, who lived 29 years . . . months, &c."

No. 2 is a most peculiar inscription. It occurs upon an oblong tessera made of bone, perforated at one end, as if for suspension, which is about 5 inches long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad. From the use of the word *Dominus*, I think it probable that the inscription is Mithraic, but it may be read in several ways. Dr. Hübner, who since the publication of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* has treated of this inscription in his *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, p. 85, (No. 19, Appendix), thinks that *Felix* in this case was the name of a gladiator. He also protests against the inscription being considered Christian, as some antiquaries have thought.

No. 3 is still more puzzling. It is inscribed on the base of a statue which is headless, and holds in its left hand what are apparently two keys. Mithras is frequently represented as holding the same. The termination of both lines of the inscription is wanting, and there has been in all probability a continuation of the inscription below, which is also now lost. In the *York Herald* of the 30th August, 1875, I published a reading of the inscription which, now that I have obtained a photograph of the stone, seems erroneous. It was *D(ecimus) Vol(usius) Ire(naeus) Arimani(o)*. From the photograph it seems that after the last *i* in *Arimani*, is what appears to be the first portion of the letter *v*, so that the word *Arimanius* may have been given in full. The letter *D*, at the commencement, is also outside a line running down the side and over the top of the inscription (as if it were in the form of a tablet). Can the letter *M* have been at the termination of the first line outside of the border, and the inscription thus have been a sepulchral one?

*Arimanius*, who was the same as the Persian god Ahriman, was considered to be the evil deity in opposition to Mithras, who was the good or beneficent deity. If this

be a statue of him, it is the first that has been found in Britain, though several dedications to him have been found on the Continent. (See *Orelli*, No. 1933, vol. i. p. 345 ; also *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii., Nos. 3414 and 3415). This inscription was found under part of the old city wall, and the bone tablet in a stone sarcophagus. The whole of these inscriptions found at York are now preserved in the Museum of that city.

At Jedburgh there has been discovered, built into a staircase of the ruined Abbey, a Roman inscription, of which, from the copies I have received, the following seem to be the only extant letters :—

IOM  
 . AT IOR DEO  
 RVM CAESA  
 . . VI  
 SEVER TRIB

The inscription is apparently much defaced, but in the first line the letters IOM are plain, and seem succeeded by v ; then after another obliterated letter, there appears to be the letter x. The first letter of the second line seems to be L. In the fourth line there seem to be two leaf stops or ornaments in succession, preceding the letters VI. It is difficult to give any satisfactory reading of the inscription. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* in the first line is certain, what follows is uncertain. Can it be, *Conservatori Deorum Caesarum* ? In the fourth and fifth lines I think we have

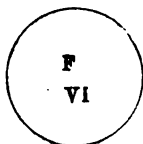
(1) *VLIUS SEVER(us) TRIB(unus)*.

At the meeting of the Institute at Canterbury in July, 1875, there was exhibited a small inscribed Roman altar of white statuary marble 14½ inches high, bearing the following inscription, the last line of which is somewhat obscure.

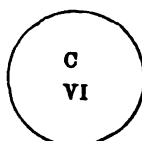
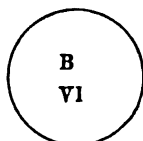
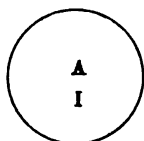
D . M . (S)  
 CELIE . MAXSI  
 ME . Q . V . AN . X  
 ET . ELIO . ALEX  
 SANDRO . Q . V .  
 AN . IIX . ELIVS . FE  
 LVMINVS . PA  
 T . PIENT . F . L . F . C

*i. e. D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum) Celie Maxsime q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) decem et Elio Alexsandro q(uae) v(ixit) annos octo, Elius Feluminus Pat(er) Pient(issimus) \* \* \* \* f(aciendum) c(uravit).* The F. L. in the last line occurring with F. C. after it, I cannot explain, but it may possibly stand for "*Filiis.*" This altar is said to have been found at *Petham*, about five miles from Canterbury, in the Stone Street leading to Lymne, *circa* A.D. 1840, but under what circumstances, cannot now be ascertained.<sup>5</sup> I am, however, doubtful whether it is not a Continental example, brought over to England within the last two centuries, though Petham being so near the French coast these altars might be easily imported and afterwards inscribed on arrival. My friend Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., inclines to the opinion that it is a Continental inscription. Had he thought otherwise, he informs me, that he should have engraved it in his *Collectanea Antiqua*.

To the list of "*Tesseræ*" previously known is to be added one of terra cotta found in Finsbury (London) in August, 1874, with other Roman remains, and now in the possession of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. (*Vide* "*Journal of the British Archæological Association*," vol. xxxii., pp. 67-8). It is of exactly the same size as that discovered in North Wiltshire (Hübner, *Corpus Insc. Latin.* vol. vii., No. 1265), being 1 inch in diameter and  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick. It bore also the same inscription.



Mr. Mayhew also says in the same article, that he had acquired three others which were found with Roman glass among the effects of a Mr. Lucas, in Staffordshire, but it is not known whence they came, though they were probably found in England. They were inscribed—



<sup>5</sup> See Arch. Journ., vol. xxxiii. p. 263, for account of other discoveries at this place.

I will now, before closing, add a few corrections to Dr. Hübner's work.

The altar found at Dorchester (Oxfordshire), which is his No. 83, and the whereabouts of which he is unable to give, is now preserved at Brome Hall, near Canterbury, the seat of the Oxenden family. I must also add that the Roman altar found at Caermarthen, described by me in the "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xxxi. p. 344, and which I then concluded to be lost, is now built into the wall of an outhouse at the Vicarage, Caermarthen. I am indebted for this information to Professor Westwood, of Oxford.<sup>6</sup>

With Dr. Hübner's great work, with the two papers which I have previously published containing his omissions, and with this present list of additional inscriptions, the student of Roman epigraphy will have in his hands every inscription known to have been discovered in Britain to the close of the year 1875 unless copies of some others may lie hidden in private (and public) collections of MSS. But as fresh discoveries are almost daily occurring, I hope that with the promised assistance of English antiquaries I may be able to publish an annual list of additional inscriptions found.

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NOTE.—This paper was read on the 3rd June, 1876; but the illness and death of Mr. Burt have delayed its publication. In the meantime (at the very close of 1876) a portion of these inscriptions were published by Professor Hübner, in a paper forming an "*Additamenta*" to his large work in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii. pp. 113—155, issued at Rome.

<sup>6</sup> I have also recently rediscovered at Turvey Abbey, near Bedford, the seat of J. L. Higgins, Esq., the altar from Whitley Castle (No. 739 *Lap. Sept.*), which

Dr. Bruce reported as lost. Mr. Higgins says it came into his possession at the sale of the effects of the late Sir Gregory Page Turner at Battlesden in 1824.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN WARWICKSHIRE  
(THE PRE-DOMESDAY PERIOD).

By J. TOM BURGESS, Esq., F.S.A.

WHEN the Institute held its annual congress at Warwick thirteen years ago, the Ordnance map and the map in Faussett's "Inventorium Sepulchrale" showed the pre-Domesday remains in Warwickshire, which were then known to exist. These had been noted and surveyed by Mr. Matthew Bloxam and Sir Henry Dryden, and though few in number were interesting examples of early castrametation and sepulchral mounds. The paucity of Saxon remains gave rise to the supposition that the ancient inhabitants of the forest of Arden had been able to hold possession of the territory of their fathers till a late period—a period marked by the fortifications of Stafford, Tamworth, and Warwick, by the Lady Æthelflæd in the early part of the tenth century (*circa* 913-15). The later discoveries do not destroy this supposition altogether, but they show that there existed on the northern bank of the Avon, just within the southern fringe of the woodland tract known as the "Forest of Arden," a line of early fortifications extending from the swampy plains of Leicestershire to where the ancient Ridgway overlooks the fertile vale of Evesham and the "sandy-bottomed Severn." To the south of this line, and at no great distance from it, are the Saxon graves which were noted in December, 1875, and January, 1876, specimens of the contents of which are now exhibited. The existence of these graves shows clearly that the Eastern Angles had penetrated at an early period to the very heart of England, and to some extent secured the open champaign country, known as the Feldon, which lies between the Oxfordshire bluff headlands which form the southern boundary of Warwickshire and the River Avon. Along this southern edge of the country there is another continuous line of earthworks, which extends from Hunsbury

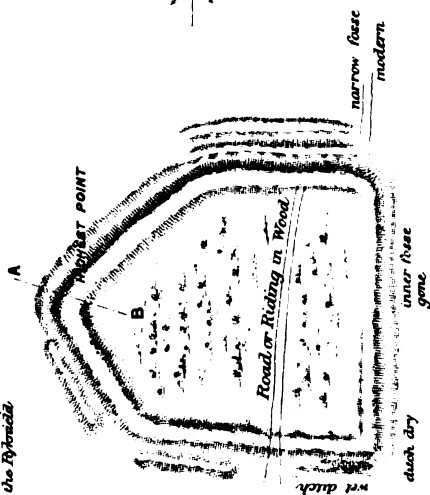


# WARWICKSHIRE EARTHWORKS.

SKETCH PLAN.

OAKLEY WOOD.

*This Camp is the same  
Plan as the Roman Camp  
at Ippley on the Rytonside  
Stoke.*

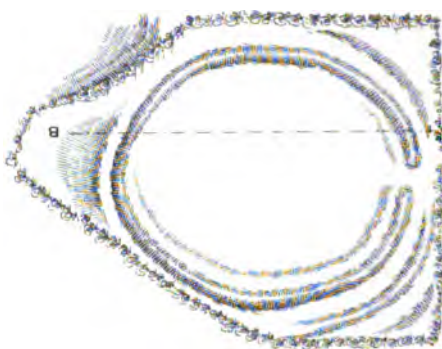


SCALE OF FEET  
0 100 200 300 400 500



Section at A. B.

CAMP AT BARMOOR.



Section at A. B.

or Huntsberry Hill, opposite Northampton, to Bredon Hill, which forms the northern rampart to the flat lands on which Tewkesbury is built, and where the Avon empties itself into the Severn. To these I have not been able to add one additional fortification beyond those mentioned by the historians of Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, but between these lines there exist lines of fortification which differ materially from others existing in Warwickshire, and which have not hitherto been noticed.

By a somewhat curious coincidence the successive dates at which these discoveries were made follow, what we may fairly take to be their historical and chronological order. When I renewed my acquaintance with Warwickshire, after several years' absence in the Gaelic speaking districts of the West of Ireland, I was struck with the strange familiarity of the names in the Arden country, and involuntarily translated them as I had been in the habit of doing in Clare, Limerick, and Kerry, when investigating the earthworks and cromlechs existing in the territory which Ptolemy assigned to the Gangeni. Full of this conceit, I made inquiries, and found that spear-heads and swords had been picked up at Claverdon, but had disappeared when the village blacksmith, in whose possession they had been suffered to remain, died. These inquiries introduced me to an intelligent farmer, long resident in the neighbourhood, who volunteered to guide me to a thicket, known to the country people as Barmoor Wood, where we were told some curious trenches existed. This thicket is marked on the Ordnance map a little to the south of Henley-in-Arden, between the Crab Mill and Cherry Pool. It stands at the southern extremity of a plateau some sixteen acres in extent, which rises from a marshy plain to a considerable height. There is no regular entrance into the Wood, which is some four acres in extent, and of an irregular shape. We forced our way through a gap in the fence, and found ourselves almost immediately on the edge of a broad and deep fosse. The undergrowth prevented a detailed examination at that time, but the owner kindly cut down the brambles sufficiently to show a slightly oval encampment surrounded by a deep fosse, except on the north, where a causeway 30 ft. broad connected the interior with the open plateau, which in Ireland would be called the "faha!" or outer court. There appears to have been a vallum on the outer edge of the fosse,



but this has in places been destroyed. On the inner side of the fosse, as shown in the section, there was a similar low vallum 10 ft. wide immediately in front of a larger and stronger vallum which formed the inner line of defence. This embankment had a base of 20 ft. wide, and, though only 4 ft. in height, it had evidently been much higher. The enclosure from north to south is as near as can be measured at present 520 ft. On the south-east corner some stonework once existed, but it has long since been removed. A stone structure, described as like a saw-pit, existed also at the circular camp at Beausale, and my informant, who removed the stones, described this structure as somewhat similar. Along the outer edge of the plateau there are pits which yet contain water in the driest of seasons. The whole of the sides of the hill are terraced. The linchets are very apparent in the winter time when the ground is not covered with crops. The country is open to the west and north, where the most remarkable objects in the landscape are the three hills of Spernal and Alne, one of which has been entrenched, and in the far west the high lands known as the Ridgway bound the horizon.

About a mile due east of Barmoor Wood is Yardingale<sup>1</sup> or Yarningale Common, which is situated on a bold promontory stretching into the plain. It is covered with whin, broom, and heather. It has never been cultivated, and is called by the country people "a mountain." On the north-western shoulder of the hill there are traces of a small signal outpost, in the form of a double tumulus surrounded by a fosse 11 ft. wide. The base of the larger mound is about 70 ft. in diameter, and the inner central mound not more than 9 ft. The outline is squat and low, as if the influence of the weather had denuded somewhat its original height.

On marking these early earthworks on an outline map, I found that they filled a blank space in a line of entrenchments and tumuli extending across Warwickshire in a diagonal direction indicated by the course of the Avon. Brinklow is one of the largest tumuli in the kingdom, and the ramparts defending it are somewhat lozenge-shaped, and are divided into an inner and an outer ward by an intersecting rampart. At Knightlow and Motslow there are well-

<sup>1</sup> This promontory first attracted my notice from the sound appearing like a corruption of "Ard-in-gael"—in Erse, the height of the stranger.

known tumuli, and between them there are the remains of ancient entrenchments at Bagington and Bubbenhall. At both places the contour has been altered to suit the requirements of mediæval architects. A camp which once existed on Whitley Common has long since been removed and no trace of its configuration has been preserved.

In the very interesting monograph of Kenilworth Castle, read before the Institute, Mr. G. T. Clarke mentions the probability of Kenilworth Castle having been built on the site of an early earthwork. I have paid particular attention to Kenilworth, and though I have not been able to find any reliable traces of the Castle which is said by Dugdale to have existed at Hom Hill, on the high lands on the north of the River Avon opposite the present Stoneleigh Abbey, and which was destroyed when Canute made his terrible irruption into Warwickshire (*circa* 1016-17). The landscape gardener has been at work on the site, and though the ground bears evidences of disturbance, no defined lines of entrenchments can now be traced.

Between this site and Kenilworth Castle, nearly a mile due east from the latter is a wild piece of uncultivated land where the drift of the Tertiary age has been thrown into large circular hillocks, round spurs and knolls of the new red sandstone which here crops up. None of these hillocks remain in a perfect state, the railway, gravel pits and quarries have altered the contours at the base, but two of them bear slight signs of circular ramparts. The most western has about a quarter of the circle remaining. The section is not very bold or striking, but it is peculiar, from surmounting a layer of black earth some two inches in thickness. It is inaccessible where exposed, so that its composition cannot readily be determined. These hillocks, like Kenilworth, lie immediately on the north of the Inchford brook. From the gravel found near these hillocks a rough stone Celt (figure A A) has been found along with many chipped flints. These, however, do not exhibit any specially marked features. Indeed chipped flints are very rare in Warwickshire.

In Domesday Book, Kenilworth was divided into two parts. Optone, now High Town, contained three hides and Chinewrde (Kenilworth) not more than three virgats besides the woods. At the back of the street known as High

Town, north of the Church, there are some earthworks whose general plan accord with those observable at Kineton, Seckington, and Castle Bromwich. They were not observed till February, 1877. They are a little south of Camp Farm, and one of the numerous rivulets arising from "the springs" has been brought close to it.

Immediately due north of the Castle there are the remains of a quadrangular entrenchment of great size, and includes the houses on what is now called Clinton Green. The western edge was the bank of the lake. The northern and western are marked by the water courses of the little streamlets known as "The Springs." At the north-eastern corner part of the vallum yet remains. It is about 5 ft. high and 10 ft. broad at the base, viewed from the inside, but is much more formidable from the ditch to the east. This is barely two fields from the earthworks just mentioned. The existence of this well-defined entrenchment would point to the fact, that if it had no earlier origin, it bears out Mr. Clarke's hypothesis that the troops of Henry III. and Prince Edward took up their position on the northern side of the Castle at the siege A. D. 1265. A few Roman third brass coins have been found in the neighbourhood and during the recent excavations at the Castle, but they are so corroded as to be undecipherable.

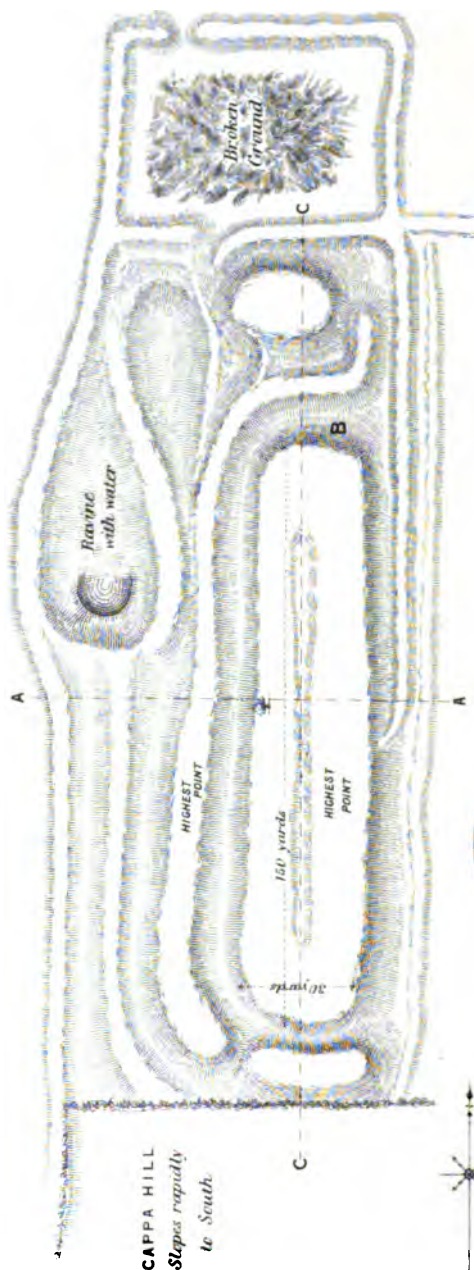
Barely three miles due west from Kenilworth is the elliptical-shaped camp at Beausale Common. This camp is similar in design to the one I found at Barmoor, but there is no outer court or ward. It is five acres in extent. The fosse is 20 ft. wide and was protected by an inner and an outer vallum, but the outer vallum is broken away on the southern side. To the south there are entrenchments in Wedgnoek Park, belonging to Warwick Castle, and the line is continued westward by Yarningale, Barmoor, Pathlow, the heights of Alne, to Danesbank in Coughton Park at the western verge of the county.

Danesbank, though marked on the Ordnance map, had never been described or surveyed, I believe, until 1875, when by the permission of Sir N. W. Throckmorton, I made a minute survey of the ramparts and enclosures which crown the top of Cappa hill, about three-quarters of a mile west of Coughton Station on the Redditch and Evesham Railway. Close to the Station there is a moated area

IF

# WARWICKSHIRE EARTHWORKS. DANES BANK.

SCALE OF 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET



CAPPA HILL  
Slopes rapidly  
to South.



2nd Feb 1875.

Hand-drawn by J. H. St. John.

about one acre in extent, known as the Wyke or Wick, and though there are more than a hundred moated areas in Warwickshire, there is not, to my knowledge, another which has the vallum outside the wet ditch and none within. It was not the site of the keeper's house, for that occupied the site of the farm-house beyond, when the whole neighbourhood was inclosed in Coughton Park.

The accompanying plan will give a better idea of the singular formation of the Danesbank than any verbal description. A long rectangular mound, like a gigantic barrow, is encompassed by a double rampart, terminating on the north with two rectangular enclosures. Mr. Bloxam is inclined to think it is the site of Alauna Dubonorum, as it is only two miles north west of the Roman Alauna (Alcester), and is one mile west of the Icknield or Ryknield way. I see nothing to justify this opinion. The arrangement is altogether singular, and amongst the many scores of earthworks I have examined I have not found another of a similar character. Originally it was in the heart of Arden, over which it commands an extensive view, and I see no reason to doubt that it formed one of the series of posts of the primitive tribes who threw up the line of fortifications along the frontier of the forest, and these tribes were certainly not allied to the Dobuni who occupied the territory to the southward. The defences, by whomsoever thrown up, had their strongest points to the south. None of them are visible from the Avon, yet the tumuli which stand between them and the river have a good view over the country south of the Avon, as far as the Edge Hills and Northants.

Until within the past four years, the existence of any earthworks between the Avon and the Edge Hills on the Oxfordshire border was not even suspected. The district is traversed by the Fosse way from north-east to south-west, and after leaving Brinklow, which is situated on the line of the Fosse, and causes the road to make a detour, we find no record of any remains on the Ordnance Survey, save the camp at Chesterton, twelve miles from Brinklow, and a small rectangular camp at Radbourne, about two miles west of Napton, where there are some signs of entrenchments. The camp at Radbourne is situated on the edge of a large turf field, and is one of the few entrenchments which have not been disturbed by the plough.

In searching for the possible site of a Roman post at Easthorpe, midway between Chesterton and Brinklow, I found the regular castrum of the Roman period at Wappenbury, on the northern bank of the river Leam. I have subsequently learned that it had been noted by Mr. Bloxam. I have since heard that on the southern side, outside the churchyard, there are the remains of some strong foundations, in which Roman tiles are intermixed. The site of this Roman station answers to the one placed blank on the 14th Iter of Richard of Cirencester, and it ought to be excavated and explored. Many Roman remains have been found at Princethorpe, in the immediate neighbourhood.

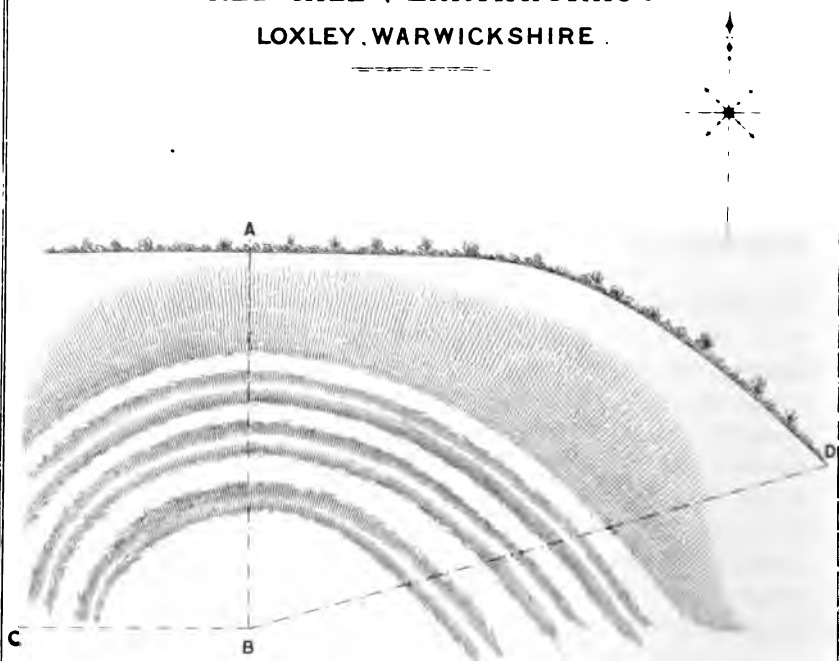
About three miles further west, on the Fosse, and beneath Ufton hill, there are two mounds or barrows, which have not yet been explored. One has a peculiar hollow on its summit, and during the wet autumn of 1875 the top of the other gave way and sank some 4 ft. A change of tenancy has prevented the opening of this barrow. On the northern side of the Fosse, in the parish of Radford, and within a mile of Chesterton camp, is a hill called Frizmore. In shape, it is like a gigantic barrow, and, curiously enough, has the hollow crown like the barrows at Ufton, as if it had been opened, or the interior cist had given way. Six miles from Chesterton there are two or three low tumuli, which have not been explored, on the estate of Sir Charles Mordaunt, and on the hill opposite, on the northern side, are situated the most formidable earthworks in Warwickshire. In the valley between is situated Walton, the seat of Sir Charles Mordaunt, which is believed to have been the site of an ancient settlement, if not of a Roman villa. During the autumn of 1876 a quantity of chipped flints were found in excavating for some ornamental water, 3 ft. or 4 ft. from the surface; and near Wellesbourne Mill others have been found. These and those found at Kenilworth are the only ones hitherto noted in Warwickshire, though polished flints are noted in "Dugdale," and flint arrow-heads have been found in barrows.

The formidable earthworks on Red Hill, overlooking the valley of the Avon, and facing the Welcomb hills, which form the northern ridge above the river, are of great extent. They appear to begin on the brow of the hill where the road from Wellesbourne to Halford Bridge crosses

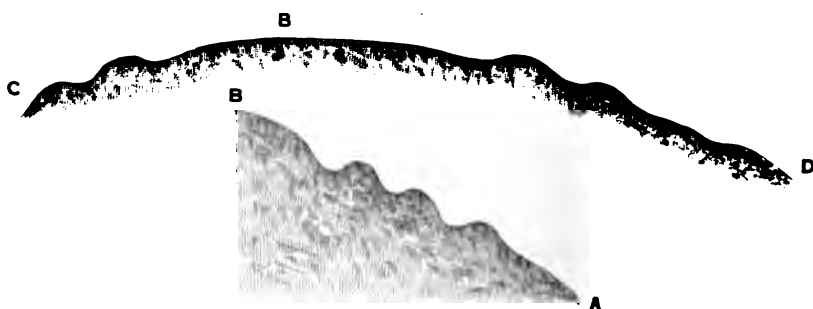




**RED HILL , EARTHWORKS .**  
**LOXLEY , WARWICKSHIRE .**



**SKETCH PLAN , LOXLEY .**



it, but the principal remains are nearer Loxley. They were surveyed in the spring of 1875, by Mr. E. Pritchard, C. E., under the superintendence of Mr. Cove Jones, F.S.A., and myself. The hill has a semicircular base towards the vale on the north, and this conformation of the ground has been used for the purpose of fortification, and presents an outline to the eye of a series of ramparts and ditches, one above the other. The lines are carried along the face of the hill for some distance to the west, and can be traced, but more faintly, to the eastern face of the hill overlooking Wellesbourne.

The discovery of these ramparts induced me to pay all the unvisited portions of the Feldon minute attention. I was soon rewarded by finding in Oakley Wood, which is situated by the side of the Banbury and Warwick turnpike road, four miles from the latter place, a quadrangular enclosure, of great strength, particularly on the northern side. The vallum at the north-east angle rises to the height of 30 ft. from the bottom of the Fosse, and is not less than 30 ft. in diameter at its base. On the southern side the vallum appears to have been levelled, and the material removed to make a slight fence beyond the camp on the south-east. The ditch remains perfect on every side. The spring which apparently supplied the camp with water is on the north-west angle. The area of the camp is estimated at six acres, from the rough survey I have been enabled to make of it. As the underwood is partially cut every season, I hope to perfect the plan this year. There can be but little doubt that this is a Roman camp, and one like that at Radbourne, used for some temporary purpose entirely unconnected with the military roads. It is about three miles from Chesterton on the Fosse, and is not within sight of any of the lines of tumuli within the county. Stukeley noticed a quadrangular entrenchment not far from the ancient bridge at Warwick, and a portion of this entrenchment is yet preserved in the garden attached to the estate office of the Earl of Warwick, but it is impossible now to estimate its extent or strength. A similar entrenchment exists at Ipsley, on the Ryknield Street in Warwickshire.

At Hodnell, which is situated on a line of tumuli which can be traced from Towcester, in Northants, to the one known Roman station away from the military ways in Arden

(Harborough Banks), are two ramparts, parallel to each other, about 150 ft. long and 40 ft. apart. The ramparts are comparatively weak, being not more than 6 ft. thick and from 3 ft. to 4 ft. high. To the west, on the slope of the hill, there are distinct signs of a terraced fortification, which extends much farther than the existing ramparts. About 250 ft. to the eastward, on the very summit of the hill is a small tumulus. The windmill at Chesterton (built by Inigo Jones), above the camp, is situated apparently on an ancient tumulus. There is a very perfect but hitherto unnoticed tumulus at Tachbrooke, situated in a spot which alone commands a view of Warwick and of Chesterton.

There are a few other points of pre-historic interest which have not been published. Between Wilmcote and Billesley, a series of foundations of circular dwellings, with a deep well, containing the bones and horns of deer, with a quantity of black earth, were uncovered, when quarrying for limestone; and near them was a grave with a skeleton; and not far away, a sword. I have made a plan from the description and measurements of the foreman of the quarrymen on the spot, but all the objects found were accidentally destroyed by fire. There are curious circular pits not far from Oakley Wood. Others have been noticed in the neighbourhood of Hodnell, and the site of others along the vale of the Red Horse, beneath the Edge Hills, but these, like everything extraordinary in the neighbourhood, are attributed by the inhabitants to the battle of Kineton, *temp.* Charles I.

I would point out that Red Hill, Hodnell, and Napton are on a line with Meon Hill, just outside the county boundaries, which overlooks the vale of Evesham. They appear to be the frontier-line of a tribe or power advancing from the south, and similar bronze celts have been found at the rear of Loxley entrenchments, as those found at Tadmarton, just within the Oxfordshire borders.

These surface indications of the inhabitants of Warwickshire in the past have been supplemented by the discovery of the graves of the fathers of the land. In laying out the grounds at the Priory, Warwick, the gardeners came upon several skeletons lying along the face of a ridge of rock, which had been covered with earth. The late Dr. O'Callaghan has described the finding of these bodies in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, and pointed out

that there were indications of cremation having been practised. Since that period, further excavations have been made on the southern side of the rocky eminence on which the Priory is built, close to what was formerly known as the Dog Lane, but now called the Priory Lane, leading from the North Gate to St. John's. When the earth was cleared away, it was found that the rock was honeycombed by a series of rude openings, containing ashes, cinders, and pottery of a rude construction, containing bones. Before accurate sketches could be obtained of the appearance of these rude columbaria, they were destroyed. Some two or three of the urns were preserved, and the rest ruthlessly thrown into a disused flour barrel as rubbish. When I visited the spot only one of the openings remained, the others had been either taken away, or converted into receptacles for garden requisites. The one I saw was about 3 ft. from the ground, 2 ft. wide, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high. The Keuper sandstone had been rudely hollowed out to the depth of 18 inches to 3 ft., and in the opening were placed cinders of charcoal, black ashes, and charred bone, round an urn of grey pottery ware, turned perfectly plain. The one I saw was broken, and the bones it contained were calcined, and were scattered about. I made a sketch of the appearance of the rock at that time, and I was permitted to bring away portions of the pottery. Further investigations were absolutely forbidden. The pottery appears to me to be of the Roman or Romano-British period, and is essentially different from the other sepulchral urns found in the immediate neighbourhood of Warwick. The rock in which these remains were found is the same as that in which the renowned cave of the fabulous Guy Earl of Warwick is excavated, and in this rock, along the banks of the Avon, towards Lillington, there are several caves formed in the face of the cliff, and on the surface of the rock, but it is impossible to assign any specific date to them.

The paucity of Saxon remains in Warwickshire I have already adverted to. I have before me a list kindly furnished to me by Mr. M. H. Bloxam of all the places where traces of Saxon occupation had been found in Warwickshire. The only "bits" of early masonry which could be attributed to a pre-Norman era are found at Wootton Wawen Church, and in the causeway over the Fosse at Tamworth Castle.

Fibulæ of the ordinary cross-shaped pattern and other Anglo-Saxon ornaments have been found near Bensford Bridge and Churchover adjoining the Watling-street way on the east of the county. At Princethorpe and Brinklow urns had been found. In 1774 three skulls and two Saxon jewels, described by Mr. Pegge in the third volume of the *Archæologia* (p. 373) were exhumed at Walton. In Warwick Museum there is preserved the handsome fibulæ engraved in Akerman's "Pagan Saxondom," and the crystal ball found therewith at Emscote, near Warwick, together with five circular discs of metal, roughly chased; four of them fit into rings, and two of the rings are filled with beak-like hooks. These were found near Chesterton. In cutting the Railway near Marton, midway between Leamington and Rugby, fibulæ of the dish-shaped pattern were found, together with spear-heads and the umbos of shields.<sup>2</sup> All these "finds" are in the immediate vicinity of Roman roads. The three recent "finds" are on the line of the Avon.

Late in the autumn of 1875 a friend brought me the iron umbo of a Saxon shield and a spear-head, which I immediately recognised as belonging to the same period. I then learned for the first time that two workmen employed by the Town Council of Warwick in digging for gravel about a mile on the Stratford road had found several skeletons and many objects similar to those shown me. The next day I went to the spot and found that two or three umbos and spear-heads, together with a long Saxon sword, had been found. There was one circular fibulæ with an interlaced design rivetted to a plate at the back, two small fibulæ, and some knives of ordinary pattern. These were in the possession of the engineman at the adjoining pumping station of the Warwick Sewage Works. On returning to Warwick I was offered a dish-shaped fibula and an amber bead for sale. These I secured, and at once communicated with Mr. John Staunton, the owner of the field, who immediately commissioned me to act on his behalf, and watch the progress of the excavations.

The spot where these relics were found is a field one mile due west from Warwick, near Longbridge, at an angle of

<sup>2</sup> A very handsome gilt fibula (engraved in the *Archæologia*) was found at Itagley with a knife some years ago, and was, by the permission of the Marquis of

Hertford, to whom it belongs, added to the collection of Warwickshire fibulæ exhibited.

Warwick Castle Park, where the Fisher Brook forms the boundary on its way to the Avon.<sup>1</sup> The whole space excavated does not exceed a plot of 50 ft. by 45 ft., and it is evident that there is yet a vast number of graves to be explored whenever the excavations are resumed. The objects found and recovered consist of a glass drinking vessel, the remains of an urn of black pottery, both of which are shattered, three "buckets," so called, varying from 5 in. to 7 in. in height. These are too fragile to travel; the stave of one bears the only bit of woven fabric found. A sword 3 ft. long, a spear-head 2 ft. 6 in. long, many spear-heads varying from 7 in. to 15 in., javelin-heads, knives of the ordinary pattern, several umbos of shields, one of which was found over the head of one of the bodies, and the point of the sword within it.

The umbos vary in shape and size. One was surmounted by a spike or small spear-head, others had a flat disc or button terminal, whilst in others it was round, and with the disc-headed umbo the point of the long heavy sword was found. Several of these umbos were found, with the rivets which attached them to the "linden wood" of which the shield was generally formed, and in more than one instance the handle or brace of the shield was found below the umbo.

The one sword stands alone. It is one of the few Saxon swords which have been found which show the remains of the wooden scabbard and its ornamentation. Altogether it formed a weapon 2 ft. 10 in. long, and 2½ in. broad. The end of the hilt is formed of a square piece of bronze brought to a point. The hilt and guard are decayed, but where the scabbard begins there are yet the narrow bands of thin bronze which held the scabbard together, and portions of it can be traced down the entire length of the blade, and is very similar to one found at Fairford a few years ago.

The first bucket found at Longbridge was formed of vertical bands of bronze, ornamented with pearl mould on both sides, which were riveted with prominent studs to the three plain bronze hoops, which surrounded the bucket. These hoops and bands are a little over an inch broad, and correspond in width to the narrow strips of wood which

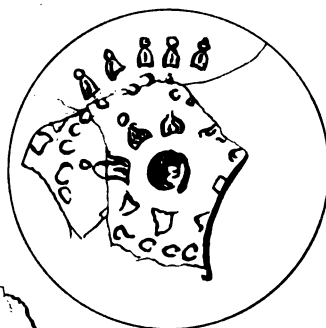
<sup>1</sup> The plan, which was exhibited, showed the relative position of the stream and river to the graves.

formed the bucket-shaped vessel. The upper edge was tipped with metal, and on one side there are the signs of the fastening of some kind of handle. The second bucket was the largest. The hoops were riveted with square-headed studs, and the bronze was quite plain. The third bucket was similar, but the bronze much decayed, though the wood was tough and fresh. A bead or two of the large amber variety were found near the urn, but these were either lost or given away, or sold before the nature of the find was understood. The later excavations revealed a silver armlet, or bracelet, a gold bractate, a large cross-shaped fibula, very like one found at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, and figured in Plate 20 of *Pagan Saxondom*. It is of rude design, and has evidently been ornamented with plates of silver. With the bractate were found five or six amber beads, and in the next grave two saucer-shaped fibulæ; in the centre of each was fixed a small piece of glass. One of these is before you. Of the other fibulæ found, twelve in all, the one first seen is circular, is two inches in diameter, and has a circular opening a quarter of an inch in diameter in the centre, which has held a jewel or some precious stone. The space between this was formed of a raised interlaced SS-like pattern riveted, with the ring-like edge, to a thin disc of metal which held the pin and catch. The other fibulæ belonged to the sculptæ, or round saucer-shaped fibulæ, made out of a solid disc of metal, bearing an incised pattern similar to the more important one. These bore signs of having been gilded. Two of the fibulæ were of the ordinary flat ring pattern, and two belonged to what are called cross-shaped fibulæ, of ordinary patterns; one is trefoil-headed, and the other is square-headed, ornamented with dotted lines.

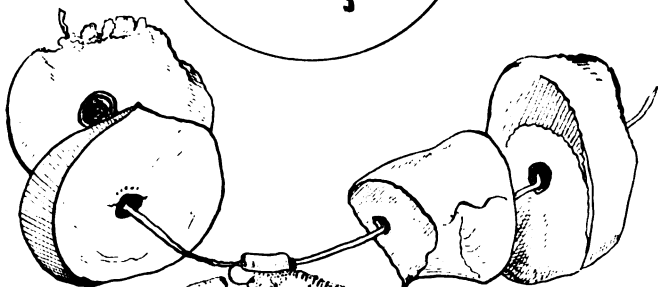
With respect to the bodies themselves, one of the most perfect of the skeletons was that of a powerful young man, who was upwards of 6 ft. high and about 23 or 24 years of age. His teeth were perfect. His chin somewhat more pointed than usual. This pointed chin marked all the lower jaws we had an opportunity of examining, for many of the skeletons fell into dust or were broken by the workmen in removing them. Some of the skeletons were found indiscriminately upon the others, a circumstance which in other cases has given rise to the supposition that these were either



RUDE STONE CELT  
KENILWORTH 1877.  
*See page 371.*



FRAGMENT OF  
SILVER BRACTATE.  
LONGBRIDGE.



GOLD BRACTATE &  
AMBER BEADS.  
LONGBRIDGE.





prisoners taken in battle or slaves sacrificed as a propitiation to the gods. No regular plan was pursued in the burials, for the bodies were found in various positions. The gold and silver articles have been claimed by the Government as treasure-trove, but I have ventured to retain them in order that the members of the Royal Archæological Institute might have an opportunity of examining them. The fragment of the silver bractate is, I believe, very rare. In consequence of the claim of the Government the excavations have been suspended at a time when regular and systematic supervision had secured so much that was rare and valuable.

Exactly three miles east of Leamington is the village of Offchurch, as Longbridge Cemetery is three miles to the west; and at this spot, reputed to have been one of the residences of Offa, King of Mercia, he is said to have founded the Church there, in memory of his son Fremund, slain between Long Itchington and Harbury. Near the spot, thus roughly indicated as the scene of the murder, Saxon weapons have been found; and near the Church is the site of another Saxon burial place, and the remains found are in the possession of the Dowager Countess of Aylesford at Offchurch Priory.

In these remarks I have not attempted to give you more than a brief account of the more recent discoveries, and to show the yet unworked field which remains open to the Archæologist who carefully investigates the remains and relics which exist in the neighbourhood in which he lives.

## DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN VILLA AT CRANHILL, NEAR WANTAGE.

By E. C. DAVEY, Esq., F.G.S.

TOWARDS the end of October, 1876, I received information from Corporal Stephenson, of the Ordnance Survey, that some fragments of ancient pottery and the foundations of a considerable building had been turned up by the plough in an open field one mile and a half due west of Wantage. On proceeding to the spot I found labourers engaged in removing stones, &c., from a long trench about 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep. Among the rubbish thrown out at this first visit were portions of square bricks, flanged tiles, and pottery of many shapes and colours, together with oyster-shells in abundance,—all clearly recognizable as the remains and adjuncts of a Roman villa. The excavations were carried on uninterruptedly till the last day of November, and for five successive weeks I visited the scene of work—destruction, I must also acknowledge—almost daily, securing nearly everything of interest that was brought to light.

The site of the villa is on Cranhill farm, the property of Mr. Rowles, of Letcombe Regis, in the occupation of Mr. Dormer, of West Challow. It lies between East Challow and Childrey, but actually in the parish of Letcombe Regis, about half a mile below the Icknield Way, due north of the highest point beyond Windmill Hill.<sup>1</sup> The spot commands delightful views northwards over the Vale of White Horse, and the series of eminences that extend from Cumnor Hill, above Oxford, to Faringdon, Badbury, and Coleshill. The

<sup>1</sup> By the "Icknield Way" I mean the hard road from Wantage to Swindon, parallel with the broad grassy "Ridge Way." In our oldest Anglo-Saxon charters, such as those conveying lands at Blewbury and Compton Beauchamp to the abbey of Abingdon, the *Icenhilde*

*weg* is always distinguished from the *Hriag weg*. See Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* v. 295, 332, and *Abingd. Chron.* i. 111, 158. I mention this because on the old Ordnance maps the Ridge way and the Icknield Way are marked as synonymous.





house stood on the hard beds of upper-greensand, known as "firestone," a thin narrow stratum on which are always found fertile soils and pleasant undulating scenery, such as must strike the observer about Kingston Lisle Park, Spars-holt House, and Milton Hill.

The buildings occupied a rectangular area of about 320 square yards, the longest sides from north to south being 82 ft.; the shortest, from east to west, 36 ft.,—the front facing the north-west. This choice of a northerly aspect is very persistent in Romano-British villas, and I may cite examples at Ashdon and Bartlow, in Essex (Arch. Journ. x. 16, 18), Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight (Spickernell's Account, p. 3), Lymne, in Kent, and Woodchester, in Gloucestershire (Wright's Celt, &c., 191, 231). At a distance of 9 ft. inwards from the eastern wall ran a parallel wall from end to end, leaving a passage or corridor 6 ft. in width. Parallel walls in this fashion would render the habitable rooms in the house dry and warm, and at the same time provide a convenient ambulatory. Similar corridors have been noticed at Wheatley, near Oxford, and at Silchester (Arch. Journ. ii. 351—xxx. 9), corresponding to, but not identical with, the *cryptoportici* in the grand villas at Bignor and Woodchester.<sup>2</sup> The house was divided into five compartments of unequal dimensions, the largest in the centre measuring 21 ft. 4 in., by 18 ft., the others diminishing to 21 ft. 4 in., by 11 ft. 6 in., and by 10 ft. It may be useful to compare the dimensions of this villa with those of others that have been described in various parts of England. Carisbrooke was 118 ft. in length by 49 ft. in width; Ashdon, 52 ft. by 17 ft.; Bartlow, 48 ft. by 44 ft.; while the palatial villa at Woodchester measured 550 ft. by 300 ft., and another at Bignor was scarcely inferior.

All the walls, whether inside or outside, were of the uniform thickness of 3 ft., but varied in depth; being in some places carried down 6 ft., and in one angle as much as 12 ft. deep. Mr. Dormer suggested, with a probability of correctness, that the builders had worked down to this abnormal depth for the sake of a soft bed of marl or loam, which would

<sup>2</sup> "The *Cryptoporticus* was an enclosed gallery in which the Romans took the exercise of walking within doors. It is not noticed by Vitruvius, but it is par-

ticularly mentioned by Pliny in the description of his Tusculan villa."—Lyon's Bignor, 17, N.

supply them with excellent material for mortar and concrete. The foundations consisted of blocks of lower-chalk, in which I observed ammonites and pyrites; huge Sarsen stones, which required two horses to drag away; flints; and slabs of oolite from Frilford or Stanford, intermingled with bones of animals, potshards, bits of iron, glass, &c. There were also many large masses of curious reniform and spongi-form concretions,—perhaps natural stalagmites produced by the infiltration of water on softened mortar.<sup>3</sup>

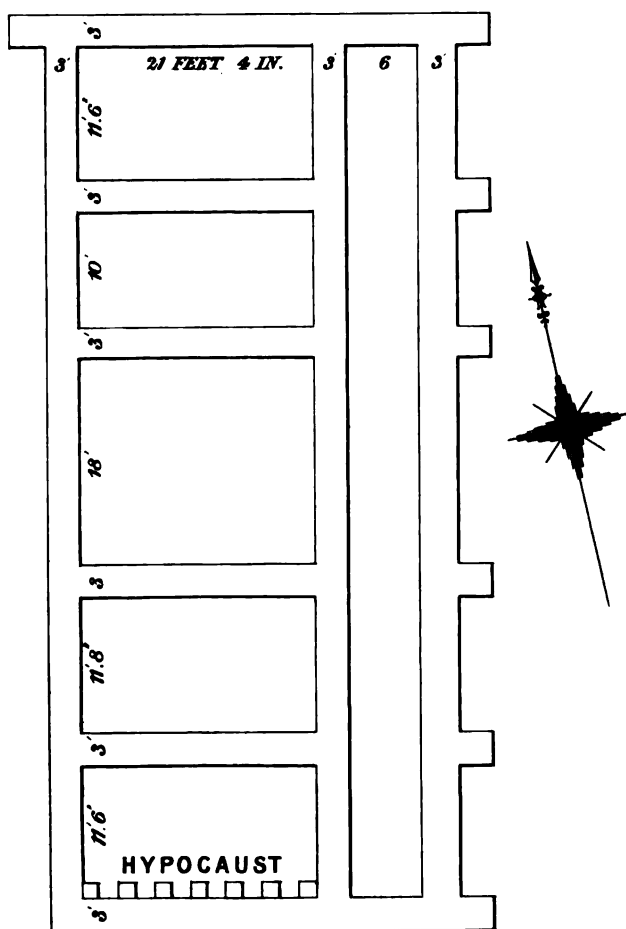
At the southernmost apartment was found a row of eight short pillars, some built of bricks 8 in. square, others of narrow form, like those in ordinary modern use, others 15 in. by 12 in.<sup>4</sup> From a comparison of these columns with similar arrangements at Wheatley, Cirencester, Northleigh, and Carisbrooke, we learn that here existed the hypocaust or apparatus for warming the rooms. “We invariably find that in a certain number of the rooms of a Roman house in Britain the floors were supported not on the solid ground, but upon a number of short thick columns arranged in regular rows, with narrow passages between them. These formed what was called the hypocaust, a Greek compound, signifying literally, *fire or heat underneath*” (Wright’s *Celt*, 195—6; Cf. Lyson’s *Bignor*, 10, N.).<sup>5</sup> Currents of hot air circulated through these passages brought in from an external furnace, and were conveyed upwards by flues in the walls. There are instances in which open fireplaces like our own have been found, but for warming the chief apartments, the *triclinia*, *exhedrae*, &c., answering to our dining and drawing-rooms, this system of hot air circulation seems to have prevailed in this island. The hypocaust at Cranhill was placed at the southern end of the building, and this appears to have been a general rule according to the statement of Wright. “In the larger country villas,” he says, “it has been observed that the rooms with hypocausts lie often on the southern

<sup>3</sup> “Tufa or stalactite,” is mentioned among the materials of Roman foundations in Dover Castle, and said to have been imported from France.—*Arch. Journ.* i. 811.

<sup>4</sup> According to Dr. Birch, F.S.A., these largest bricks are of the special description employed in constructing the piers of hypocausts. At Cranhill they were

utilised for entire columns, and not merely as plinths.—*Arch. Journ.* x. 358.

<sup>5</sup> These supporting pillars are technically called *pilæ*, and the upper floor is called *suspensura*. See the illustrations in Buckman’s *Corinium*; Wright’s *Celt*, 197; *Arch. Journ.* ii. 351, 423; xiii. 216.



**CRANHILL VILLA,  
WANTAGE.**

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part of the building, and it has therefore been assumed that they were the winter apartments, while the summer apartments were placed with a more northerly aspect, and were without hypocausts." (Celt, 198.) Usually a mosaic pavement was laid upon the upper floor of the hypocaust, but nothing of the kind was traceable at Cranhill. Possibly none ever existed there, or more probably it was destroyed twenty years ago, when Mr. Rowles carted away a vast quantity of material from the surface of the villa, little suspecting its history and character.

Of the square tiles or bricks which formed one of the *pila* of the hypocaust I brought away two, which are of exceeding interest, because they retain distinct foot-marks. For an explanation I must again refer to Wright's most engaging and instructive volume, *The Celt—the Roman and the Saxon*:—"The tiles were probably made in the neighbourhood of the buildings in which they were used, and the brickyards seem to have been unenclosed, for we find on the surfaces of many of them the indentations, not only of the feet of men, but of a considerable variety of animals which passed over them before they were baked. On bricks found at Uriconium (Wroxeter), we find the footsteps of several kinds of dogs, of sheep, of goats, and of pigs." (vi. 186.) Accompanying this paragraph are illustrations of one tile from Wroxeter which shows a dog's feet, and another tile from a Roman villa, near Bishop's Castle, which shows the impressions of the two shoes of a man who once stood upon it. The two bricks I have mentioned from Cranhill as possessing a peculiar interest, have the impressions of the feet of a sheep or pig on one, and of a boy or girl on the other; probably a boy, as the wearer had nailed shoes. In a villa at Ickleton, in Cambridgeshire,—a villa situated, like Cranhill, near the Icknield way,—the Hon. R. C. Neville met with several tiles bearing imprints of dogs' feet, a human foot, and a cloven hoof, like a deer's foot. (Arch. Journ. vi. 16.)

Besides the square and oblong bricks, there were many flanged tiles connected with the hypocaust and superincumbent floor. Some of them are plain and smooth, but most of them are scored with various simple patterns by means of curved and intersecting lines, "as if drawn by a comb-like instrument," agreeing exactly with specimens from

Woodperry preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and with others from Wheatley Villa.<sup>6</sup>

Of the painted stucco which once lined the rooms, there were many pieces of a dull red colour, but none bearing traces of scrolls or designs.

#### POTTERY, GLASS, IRON.

There was not one entire fictile vessel dug out of the foundations, nor sufficient pieces of any one vessel to admit of complete restoration. The greater part of the fragments of pottery were of common plain ware, probably representing culinary utensils: some jet black, others yellowish, others red and brown, with intermediate stages of colouring. Occasionally the shards preserved traces of ornamentation effected by the aid of straight and zigzag lines. One piece showed an elegant diamond pattern; another bore a potter's private mark. (See Wright's *Celt*, 183.) Two other pieces were distinguished by colour and ornaments, said to be peculiar to the "Romano-Salopian" ware. What one antiquarian writer calls the "omnipresent Samian" was not wanting among the débris of fictilia. The Samian ware was thin and brittle; hence perfect vessels are rare, and hence we are told that "the smallest fragments are carefully preserved." (*Arch. Journ.* iii. 63.) The so-called Samian is a bright red, highly-glazed ware, which Wright aptly compares in appearance to the best red sealing-wax. This was a species of pottery which the Romans were fond of ornamenting with classical designs, and was always highly prized. With two exceptions, however, the fragments from Cranhill were quite plain.<sup>7</sup>

In iron, the articles consisted of nails, clamps, bolts, and hinges, and thin oxidized pieces of no defined shape. All these articles imply the presence of timber, of doors, &c.; but I saw no traces of wood, except in the form of charcoal, and this leads to the idea that the villa was destroyed by fire.

<sup>6</sup> This villa will compare closely with Cranhill in many respects: in the accidental cause of discovery, in the exact correspondence of tile-markings, of contents and position. Wheatley villa was opened in 1844 by the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Buckland, Mr. J. H. Parker, and others (*Arch. Journ.* ii. 350-6). The floors and foundations were then covered

over by a building which was deemed "adequate to guard them for a century," but Mr. James Parker informs me that every vestige has disappeared.

<sup>7</sup> For further particulars respecting Samian ware, see Jewitt's *Grave Mounds*, chap. ix. 175; the Hon. R. C. Neville's notes in *Arch. Journ.* i. 116; x. 244; and Wright's *Celt*, 269.

Of glass, I possess but three fragments—thick, bluish, and iridescent, like the exquisite pearly glass from Cyprus. Two pieces had been run together, but it is difficult to decide whether the annealing was intentional or accidental.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS.

“Attached to Roman villas and towns,” says the learned antiquary, Thomas Wright, in the work to which I have frequently referred, “we invariably find large heaps of the remains of provisions, consisting especially of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. These organic remains are worthy of study in many points of view: they make us acquainted with the various classes of animal food consumed by the Romano-British population of our island, and they are particularly interesting to the naturalist from the circumstance that they show the existence of some animals—such as the *Bos longifrons*—which have long since been extinct.” (Celt, 104.)<sup>8</sup>

I am not sure that the Romano-British occupiers of Cranhill villa captured and devoured the *Bos longifrons*, but I possess undeniable evidence that they were partial to mutton, beef, venison, poultry, and game; and in this respect we are singularly like our predecessors. But they indulged in one luxury in which we have not followed their example:—they were fond of snails! Of empty snail shells I found some few,—not the large “Roman snail,” *Helix pomatia*, which still lives on so remarkably in the hedges round the villa at Northleigh, but the common garden species, *Helix aspersa*, which has also been noticed at Wheatley, Carisbrooke, and other such sites. But snail shells were rare in comparison with oyster shells; and here, again, modern taste coincides with the Roman palate. “The proximity of Roman sites,”—I adopt the words of Wright, —“is almost always shown by the presence of immense quantities of oyster shells, which prove that there was a great consumption of oysters in Roman Britain.” (Celt, 404; Wanderings of an Antiq., 70, 98.) It is said that Dr. Buckland never would believe in the genuineness of a Roman villa unless he found this indispensable accompani-

<sup>8</sup> Bones of the *Bos longifrons* were found associated with Roman remains at Cirencester in 1849 (Arch. Journ. vii. 344, n.), and at Beckley, near Oxford, in 1862, by Mr. James Parker.

ment. (Cf. Bruce, Arch. Journ. xvii. 345.) In Gibson's edition of Camden mention is made of two Roman camps, which both bear the name of Oyster Hill, one near St. Albans, the other near Hereford. (Britannia, 1695 ed., 300, 580.) Camden suggested that these camps owed their name to Ostorius, the General who did more than any of his predecessors to subjugate Britain.<sup>9</sup> But it is much more probable that they derived their tell-tale names from the oyster shells left behind by the Roman epicures. The great place whence the Romanised inhabitants of our island drew their supplies was Rutupiæ, or Richborough, in the Isle of Thanet. The glories of the Rutupine oyster-beds were as familiar to the citizens of Rome as to those of Calvea or Verulamium, and the superiority of the British mollusc was sung by poets of various eras,—by Lucan, Juvenal, and Ausonius.<sup>1</sup> Wright, however, observes that the Roman gourmand, like the modern Frenchman, preferred a moderately-sized species to the smallest "natives" and the shells from Cranhill confirm this statement.

## COINS.

The list of coins from the immediate vicinity of Cranhill villa is very scanty and disappointing; much scantier than would be the case if proper care had been taken of those found in the field at various times before the existence of the villa became known. For the labourer who had the charge of excavating the foundations assured me that in farming operations extending over the last twenty years, he had constantly met with coins near the villa, but had not troubled to collect or preserve them, because they were of small size and inferior metal.

The earliest and finest coin I possess thence is a first brass of Trajan who died A.D. 117.

*Obverse*, IMP. CÆS. NERV. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TR.

*Reverse*, S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

Then a complete blank till we come to Julia Domna, second wife of the Emperor Severus who ascended the throne in the year 193.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Guest's "Conquest of the Severn Valley," in the Arch. Journ. vol. xxx.

<sup>1</sup> All the passages relating to Rutupiæ are collected in the Wanderings of an Antiquary, 97-8. The best known lines

are from Juvenal:—

————— Circeis nata forent, an  
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita  
fundo  
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere moram.  
Sat. iv. 139.

*Obverse*, (IVLI)A AVGVSTA.

*Reverse*, SÆCVLI FE(LICITAS).

These coins are the only two specimens of the second century. But if they had been more numerous, it could not be received as a proof of the existence of the villa at so early a period because we are assured by an excellent archæologist that "coins, especially of the earlier emperors, continued in use after the time of the imperial personages whose heads they bore." (Joyce, *Arch. Journ.* xxx. 17. Cf. Kemble, xii. 310.)

The next chronological coin is one of Allectus, and then two of Constantine in second and third brass. These are the only five Roman coins I obtained while the process of excavation was going on; but in the middle of the last century a number of coins were found somewhere between Wantage and Letcombe Regis, and as Cranhill is in this latter parish, we may fairly conjecture that the treasure-trove originally belonged to our Roman villa. The account of the discovery was written by the Rev. G. Woodward, rector of East Hendred, and is dated Aug. 21, 1759:—

"About ten years ago a parcel of coins was dug up in a common field at a place called Letcombe. The owner of the land discovered three or four vessels, one within another, in the shape of a hat. It was full of holes like a cullender, and I think it was brass, for I saw one myself. In this was a number of small coins, most of them silver, and a few gold, of the size of half a guinea, and as bright." (*Bibl. Topogr. Brit.* 29).

Mr. Evans gives particulars of an uninscribed British silver coin from "near Letcombe Regis" (*Coins of Anc. Britons*, p. 104), and I have one uninscribed gold piece from Wantage, and one extremely brilliant Cunobeline from Hanney, midway between Wantage and Frilford.<sup>2</sup> At Wantage also are found numerous Roman coins, of which it must suffice to mention those of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Severus, and Maximinus in silver: Gallienus, Postumus, Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian, Valens, the Constantine family, Gratian and Valentinian in brass. By far the greater portion of these coins have been found on the western limits of the town, about Limborough and St. Mary's Home, and these

<sup>2</sup> *Obverse*: CA—MV. Bearded ear of corn.

*Reverse*: OVNO. Horse prancing to the right. Cf. Evans, Pl. ix. 6, 7, and 10.

sites have been known as coin-bearing localities since the days of Dr. Wise, the author of the celebrated "Letter to Dr. Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire" (1738), by which he had the merit of calling attention to the White Horse, Wayland Smith's cave, Alfred's bath, &c. The same locality (Limborough) has yielded a solitary sceatta, one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon types. (Akerman, *Numis. Man.* 225 & xii. 2.)

#### GENERAL REMARKS AND CONCLUSIONS.

If I have dwelt with a certain minuteness on the various objects brought to light in connection with Cranhill villa, it is not because of their intrinsic value, for, perchance, they would be despised at the richer treasure-hunting grounds of Uriconium, Borcovicus, or Isca Silurum; neither is it because they differ from the *spolia* of other similar sites, or offer anything novel to the antiquary: on the contrary, my object has been to show that the conditions and accompaniments of this villa agree essentially with those described in other districts, in architecture, in aspect, in the "curious assemblage" of pottery and animal remains; and the result is to draw Wantage more closely within the charmed circle of Roman civilisation; to show that Wantage shared its security, its culture, its luxuries; to prove, in fine, that Wantage was a thoroughly Roman station. For Cranhill could not have been an isolated establishment. A Roman colonist, or even a Romano-British citizen would not have ventured his life and property on a lonely hill side had there not been military protection within easy reach, as well as neighbours with whom to associate. I conclude, therefore, that Wantage was in the days of Carausius, or certainly in the Constantine era, a centre of life where families had settled in security. A glance at the accompanying sketch-map of the district will show how intimately Wantage was linked with a chain of various Roman stations. Only six miles to the northward are abundant remains which prove that the now insignificant hamlet of Frilford was a populous place in the fourth and fifth centuries. I possess urns, coins, and fibulæ found there, but my collection is poor indeed compared with what may be seen in the New Museum at Oxford, and what may be read of in Professor Rolleston's narrative of discoveries

there.<sup>3</sup> Six miles to the north-west, traces of another Romano-British villa are recorded at Chinham, near Faringdon, and I can testify that some hundreds of Roman coins have been found in a single field there.<sup>4</sup> Square Roman camps exist at Hardwell, a few miles to the west; at Coxwell to the north-west, and at Hinton (Aggister) midway between Chinham and Frilford. In Wantage itself Dr. Wise fancied he could discern the outlines of a Roman camp;<sup>5</sup> but though I would willingly accept his observations and judgment on this point, I must confess that there are no tangible or trustworthy traces of any such military work, and it would seem that he mistook natural ridges and hollows for artificial mounds and trenches. The camp in Wantage must be abandoned; but we may all the more readily adopt Dr. Wise's assertion—in which he is supported by Dr. Warton (*Hist. of Kiddington*, 70)—that the Romans made themselves masters of the noble British camp on the Ridge Way called Sagbury, or Letcombe Castle, which overlooks and commands Wantage, and thus needed no defensive post in Wantage itself.

The Portway connected Wantage with Wallingford, which—whatever its ancient name—was certainly an important Roman station. "Old Street" ran straight from Wantage to Silchester, formerly the metropolis of a wide district.<sup>6</sup> The Icknield Way and the Ridge Way afforded easy communication with the west, intersecting the great Ermine Street about Wanborough; and the roads that run by Frilford to Abingdon and Oxford no doubt existed then as now. Thus was Wantage connected with the surrounding towns and settlements under circumstances that point to peace and prosperity. For vicinal roads, detached villas, with cemetaries, and coins, are indications, not of warlike conquest, still less of a policy of extermination, but of a tranquil and

<sup>3</sup> "Researches and Excavations carried on in an ancient cemetery at Frilford in 1867-8, &c." *Archæologia* for 1868.

<sup>4</sup> *Maine's Hist. and Antiq. of Stan-ford*, 4, 5. (Parker, 1866.)

<sup>5</sup> "To an antiquary I believe it will appear that all footsteps of the Roman majesty are not quite lost: the *Castrum* or Fortification discovering itself pretty plainly on the south side of the brook, enclosing a place called High-Garden," &c. Letter to Dr. Mead, 51.

<sup>6</sup> Both Macclauchlan, in his survey of

Silchester, and Dr. Guest, in his essay on the "Belgic Ditches," have omitted Old Street in their list of roads proceeding from Silchester. The former, however, mentions a dike "pointing towards Pangbourne" (*Arch. Journ.* viii. 231); and this may be the commencement of the road in question. Hewett, in his *Hundred of Compton*, pronounces Old Street to be "the most distinctly marked Roman road in the county" (p. 118), but this is the grossest exaggeration.



continuous occupation. Such was the state of Britain during the long reign of the first Christian emperor, and such the period when we may conclude that Wantage, Cranhill, Frilford and Chinham became permanent settlements, and so continued until the advent of the destroying Saxons. But the absence of all valuables at Cranhill, of statuary and unbroken pottery, imply that the villa was stripped and deserted before it was destroyed. What Roman and Saxon spared has now disappeared under the equally rapacious hands of agriculturist and archæologist; and the curious visitor who may be drawn to the spot will find nothing to reward expectations, and will fail to discover, even by a depression in the field, the site of the demolished villa. One word of consolation I can add,—that in all probability the remains of another and a larger villa exist in the same field as yet uninjured and uncovered.

## NOTES ON THE FORMATIONS OF BARROWS.

By C. S. GREAVES, Esq.

In the 18th Vol. of this journal, p. 69, there is an account of a barrow, which I opened at Bradley, near Ashbourne in Derbyshire, and which appeared to be formed of layers of soil extending from one side to the other, and being 3 or 4 inches thick; the earth of which the barrow was composed was so rich that the tenant spread it over the farm as manure. The land on which the barrow had been raised was clayey, and there was no hollow out of which the earth of the barrow could have been taken; I was led to conjecture that the mound had been formed of thick parings of the adjacent surface, which possibly had ling or heather growing upon it. I have recently met with the following statements, which seem completely to explain the matter. Tacitus (*Annal. Lib. i. c. 61*) narrates how Germanicus found the camp of Varus, where his three legions had perished, and thus describes the burial of their bones. *Romanus, qui aderat, exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienos reliquias an suorum humo tegeter, omnes, ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, mœsti simul et infensi condebant. Primum exstruendo tumulo cœspitem Cæsar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos, et præsentibus doloris socius.* On which Dugdale (*Warw. 3*) remarks, "these last words implying that every soldier brought his turf or turves to the raising of a tumulus, according as his respect was to the defunct, and that Germanicus himself laid the first, as eminent persons have used to do the first stone in the foundation of some notable building." And he adds that this course was very anciently used by the Danes and other northern nations, as is shown by Olaus Wormius (*Monum. Dan. 43*); and, after contending that this mode of burial was adopted to prevent enemies from insulting the dead, Dugdale adds, "they did moreover hinder them to scatter the very bones, when the whole army congested upon them pure grassy turves, cut from the surface of the ground, which is the reason why it doth not appear by any hollowness whence the earth was taken that raised the tumulus" (p. 6).

This seems very satisfactorily to explain the whole matter, and I have thought it well to make a note of it, as this mode of making barrows does not seem to have been generally known.

It would seem to be a reasonable inference from such facts that these sort of barrows were the works of an army, and that, where only one interment was found in a barrow, it was that of some chieftain.

## Original Documents.

THE following table shows, with tolerable accuracy, the order in which the cloister was built according to the cloister rolls preserved in the treasury at Norwich :—

	1289.	The Chapter House was in hand—begun by Richard Uppehulle.
Communarius Roll.	{ 1297.	Cloister begun by John de Walpole in front of the Chapter House ; and the Chapter House itself, 3 (5) severies east side
	{ 1298.	
	1299.	Church door and to infirmary door and west to the severies in which the manitergia were by Bp. John of Ely.
	1300 to 1307.	
Communarius Roll.	{ 1308.	
Compd.	{ 1309.	Stone bought.
Camera Prioris.	{ 1310.	Thirty marble columns bought.
	1311 to 1323.	
Communarius.	1324.	Tiles bought, 23 marble columns, mold pieces, Tablements, &c., &c., vaults.
	1325.	Stone bought. Windows.
	1326.	
	1327.	Marble polished.
	1328 to 1329.	
	1330.	Stone sold. Iron got for windows.
	1331 to 1335.	
	1336.	Slight work ; 2 masons employed.
	1337.	Slight repairs.
	1338.	
Communarius.	1339.	Work going on at cloister and infirmary.
	1340.	Thirty columns of marble bought.
	1341 to 1344.	
	1345.	Marble bought from Wm. Burgess, of Corf. Windows on the refectory side of cloister.
	1346.	29 marble columns, 30 small ones : large purchases.
	1347.	Full Work.
	1348.	
	1349.	Corbel-table bought. Full work.
	1350.	
	1351.	The only expenses are the wages of 3 carpenters.
	1352 to 1355.	
	1356.	Cloister not mentioned.
29 years' pause.	1357 to 1385.	
Communarius.	1386.	Full work going on, 24 columns. Robt. Wadherst Clerk of Works. Windows : plumber's work.

1387.  
 1388. Work going on.  
 1389. Two masons employed.  
 1390.  
 1391 to 1392. Small receipts for the work.  
 1393.  
 1394. Small receipts for the work.  
 1395 to 1398.  
 1399. Small receipts for the work.  
 1400 to 1403.  
 1404. Marble bought.  
 1405 to 1406.  
 1407. Architect and servant for  $5\frac{1}{2}$  days.  
 1408 to 1410.  
 1411. £18 16s. paid by executors of Eaufrd' Symond, Rectoris de Marisco.  
 1412. Door of refectory lavatories, from Manitergia, subbases keys.  
 1413. Door of wainscot, for molds, &c.  
 1414.  
 1415. Symond's legacy still supplies works, centres, great hall and locutory doors.  
 1416.  
 1417. Repairs of windows.  
 1418.  
 1419. Aqueduct to cloister.  
 1420. Centres, scaffolds, spouts on west side, 1st payment for vaulting 3 Cyfres paid to John Woderofe and his brother.  
 1421.  
 1422. New roof on north side, last payment for vaulting 3 Cyfres.  
 1423. Four new windows.  
 1424. Harry Wells, Archdn. of Lincoln, £40, new roof north side, James and John Woderofe work 24 weeks on north side of cloister. John, the plumber, leaded the whole roof.<sup>1</sup>  
 1425.  
 1426. John Hancock's gift (Rectoris de Marisco) £1 3s. 4d., work on north side, window of chapter-house, west side.  
 1427.  
 1428. Wells £6. James Woderoffe, freemason, clerk of works 12 weeks, John Horne and Wm. Repps gravers of 6 keys, i.e., obviously the north vault.  
 1429. No entry.  
 1430. *Cloister technically finished.*  
 1431 to 1437.  
 1438. Thirteen windows made over cloister.

Vaulting of  
west side, by  
Bishop  
Wakeryng.  
1416 to 1425.

North aisle  
vaulting.  
Wells and  
Hancock.

<sup>1</sup> The wall and windows must have been finished on the north side, or a roof would not have been required. Then the vault comes subsequently, 1428.

- 1439. Work on east side of cloister. Cloister windows.
- 1440. Putting lead on roof. Chapter-house windows.
- 1441. Putting lead on west cloister near great hall.
- 1442.
- 1443. Lavatories repaired.
- 1444. Aqueduct on north side and benches repaired.
- 1445. Nets hung.
- 1446 to 1449. Small repairs.
- 1450 to 1451.
- 1452. Marble pavement.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 2, 1876.

F. H. DICKINSON, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. C. BAILY read a memoir "On a Collection of Drawings of Painted Glass, especially that in the Church of Long Melford, Suffolk." Numerous examples from Long Melford were exhibited, besides others possessing peculiar features of interest from Merton College, Oxford; Salisbury Cathedral, Shottesbrook, Nettlestead, Rouen and other places.

Mr. GREAVES made some observations upon the coif and dress of a Serjeant-at-Law as exhibited in the representation of Judge Haugh, in one of the windows at Long Melford. He considered the origin of the coif as probably ecclesiastical, and a device to hide the tonsure. Serjeants sat in the House of Lords, and perhaps the Judges sat there as jergeants.

The CHAIRMAN and Mr. WALLER made some remarks upon the supposed symbolism in one of the windows in Salisbury Cathedral, and to which Mr. Waller objected.

The thanks of the meeting having been given to Mr. Baily for his paper, a memoir "On some recently discovered Britanno-Roman Inscriptions," by Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN was partly read. This brought the author's valuable list down to December, 1875; it is printed at p. 342.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. C. BAILY.—Drawings of painted glass from various sources, in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. J. HENDERSON.—A Persian mace of steel, finely inlaid with silver in a rich arabesque pattern.

By Mr. J. HEWITT.—A small silver hook in the form of a dragon's head, with a spring clip, once the property of Dr. Johnson, and given by



him to Hoole, the translator of Tasso. The use of this object was doubtful, but it was suggested that it might have been used as a "Bib-holder."

By Mr. C. L. JAY.—Letters and papers of the time of Charles I., viz., six letters signed “Jo. Crewe,” and addressed, “for his honoured friend Mr. Swinfen,” dated “Nuport, 1648 ;” one incomplete letter from Mr. Swinfen to Sir John Crewe ; and a paper headed, “His Majesty’s Concessions,” dated on the back “1648.” The letters refer to the propositions made to the king by Crewe on behalf of the Parliament. The “Concessions” were to the following effect :—

“His Majesty graunted the first proposicōn for taking off declaracōns, &c., as was desired.

“His Ma<sup>y</sup> graunted the third proposicōn concerning the Militia, as was desired.

“His Ma<sup>y</sup> consented to the proposicōn of Ireland limiting the time of the Parliaments disposing offices to twenty yeares.

“His Ma<sup>y</sup> consented to pass such Acts for publique debts and publique uses as should be presented within two yeares, and incurred within that time.

“H. M. consented to that proposicōn which extends to annulling all the new Hono<sup>r</sup> that he has made and to the barring the King of making any for the future to vote in the house of Peeres without the consent of both Houses.

“H. M. graunted the disposing of offices in England to the Parliament, so the time limited exceed not twenty yeares.

“H. M. graunted the taking away the Court of Wards, having 100000<sup>l</sup> p ann. allowed in lieu therof, to be raised as the Parliament shall think fitt.

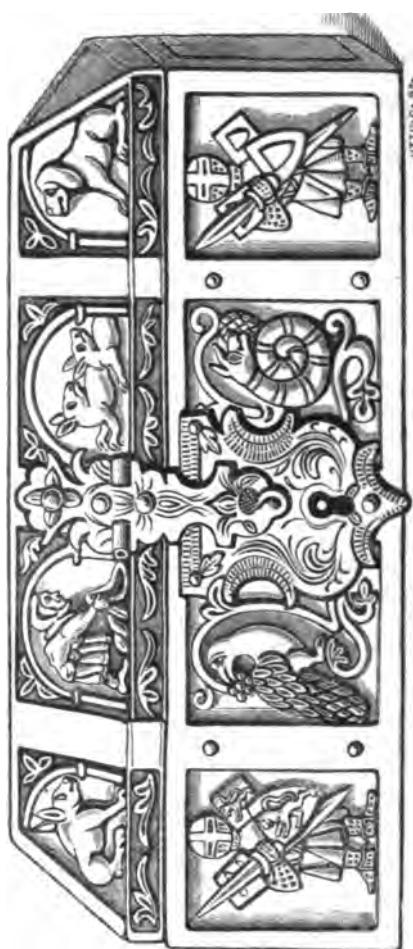
“H. M. graunted to declare against the Earle of Ormonde’s power and proceedings after an agreement with his houses.”

The above papers were sent to Sir T. Duffus Hardy, at Mr. Jay’s request, for deposit in the Public Record Office, June 21st, 1876. John Crewe was a member of a younger branch of the ancient family of Crewe in Cheshire, and eldest son of Sir Thomas Crewe, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1624 and 1625, by Temperance, one of the five daughters and co-heiresses of Reginald Bray. In the beginning of the civil war, Mr. Crewe espoused the cause of the Parliamentarians, on which the old Lord Northampton threatened to burn Steane House ; but Mr. Crewe sent him word that he had too good a house at Castle Ashby to begin such practices. He was member for Brackley in 1640, and one of the commissioners who in 1646 received the King from the Scotch army at Newark, and carried him to Holdenby. In 1648, he voted in favour of entering into a treaty with the King, and on the following day was expelled from the House of Commons, along with many others who had adopted a similar course. He rendered considerable services in the restoration of Charles II., and was advanced to the dignity of Baron Crewe of Steane, which as a special favour, was conferred free of cost. He died in 1679, aged 81. By the death of his son Thomas, in 1697, his fourth brother, Nathaniel, Bishop of Durham, became the third and last Lord Crewe, who is better remembered by his noble charity at Bamborough Castle, than by his political vagaries. The church of Steane, near Brackley, contains the fine monuments of the Crewe family. John Swinfen was M.P. for Stafford in the Long Parliament.

By the Rev. E. VENABLES.—An Original Grant by Hugh of Bayeux to the Church and Canons of St. Mary of Torrington of an oxgang of land,







a dwelling and right of pasturage in the pariah of Caburn, *temp.* Henry II. (printed at p. 183).

By Professor WESTWOOD.—Drawings of a carved casket, with the following observations :—

The accompanying drawings represent the various portions of a charming little casket of carved box-wood, belonging to the Rev. T. Hopkins, of Magdalen College, Oxford, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of figuring and describing this interesting relic, which may be assigned, from the details of armour, dresses, drolleries, &c., to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a period when grotesques of all kinds were so lavishly introduced into the margins of psalters, missals, &c. It is an oblong box,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. long,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. broad, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. deep, with a roof-shaped top, obliquely truncated at each end, giving it the appearance of a small chasse. The hinges and lock are comparatively modern.

The front of the casket is divided into four compartments: the two central ones, partially hidden by the lock-plate, are ornamented, the left one with a bird pecking a bunch of grapes, and the right one with a great snail, with the head of a quadruped, eating what looks like a gigantic strawberry. Each of the two outer compartments of the front bears a full-length figure of a knight completely armed, with a cask-like helmet, either square at the top or with a ridge over the crown; the front of the helmet is strengthened with cross plates, with two slits (ocularia) for the eyes, and the lower part is pierced for breathing; the armour is seen at the neck, arms, and legs of the figure, being indicated by small triangular punctures. Each knight bears a broad straight sword in his right hand, and holds a shield on his left arm, one of the shields bearing, as the heraldic device, a lion rampant, the other a smaller shield. At the shoulders of each knight are fixed a pair of square ailettes of large size, each bearing the same device as the shields of the respective knights; the large scabbard extends beneath the shield, and the feet are armed with spurs. All these details accord well with the armour of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, as may be seen in Mr. Hewitt's work on Arms and Armour, especially vol. i. pp. 246 (ailettes), 278, f. 1 and 3 (helm), 171 (spurs).

The sloping top of the front of the box is also divided into four compartments, representing a peasant trying to catch a couple of leverets, which, alarmed at the dog seated in the right-hand compartment, are hurrying to their parent, in the left compartment, regardless of the bag held open by the man, into which they are about to run, whilst their heads are turned back regarding the dog. Each of these compartments bears a semicircular arch resting on lateral columns, the upper angles are filled in with trefoils. The dress of the peasant, having a large hood or nightcap on his head, is that of the end of the thirteenth century, as may be seen in several of Strutt's plates. The large pendant ears of the dog seem to indicate a spaniel as the variety employed in this system of decoy.

The corresponding sloping side of the top of the box is similarly divided into four compartments. In the first a dog is seated, whilst in the second his master, a peasant with a similar close-fitting nightcap on his head, is pulling on his stocking. In the two other compartments a sagittarius, with a hood over his head, is shooting an arrow at a lion in the right-hand compartment.

In the back of the body of the box, two knights, similarly armed to those of the front, are seen mounted on horseback, with their shields and ailettes bearing oblique or transverse bars as heraldic devices. Each knight is extending his hand backwards towards a lady in each of the end compartments, who holds a lance-flag with two points, each flag marked with the device of the shields of the respective knights. Each of the ladies wears what appears like a low coronet, with a wimple under the chin, the hair at the back of the head gathered into a kind of open work or netted bag; each, also, wears a long trailing cloak fastened (in one figure) by a broad band across the breast; the gown, falling in long straight folds, covers the feet.

The ends of the casket bear two shields, one with a lion rampant coward, the other with a lion rampant within a tressure; the tail is furcate, each branch terminating in a tuft of hair. The sides of the shields are defended by monstrous birds and beasts, some with human heads, which are also carved on the sloping ends of the roof of the box.

The bottom of the box is also ornamented with carvings of drolleries, in four compartments. In one of these a knight, fully armed with helm and spear, as well as with a small dagger and an implement which may have been an ink-horn, is engaged in attacking a cock of gigantic size armed with a shield (bearing a rampant lion as its device) suspended from its neck, but having its legs fastened by bands to a stake fixed in the ground.

In the next compartment is represented the old story of the countryman who steals the young of a beast,<sup>1</sup> having distracted the attention of the dam from her progeny by fixing a circular disc in a tree.

In another compartment a knight on horseback, with a lance-flag, attacks a gigantic snail, having the head of a quadruped. The head-dress of the knight seems rather to indicate a paper kind of cocked hat than a regular helmet, and the knight may be intended for a child acting the part of a knight.

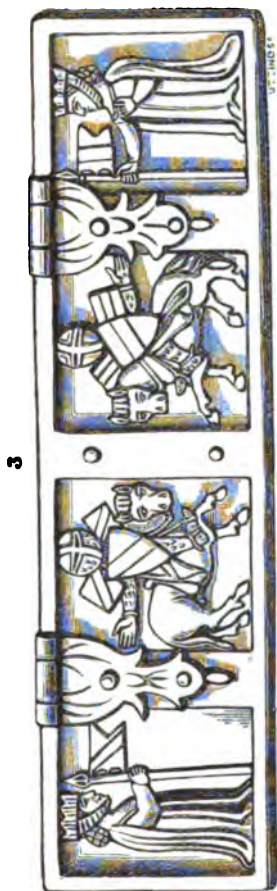
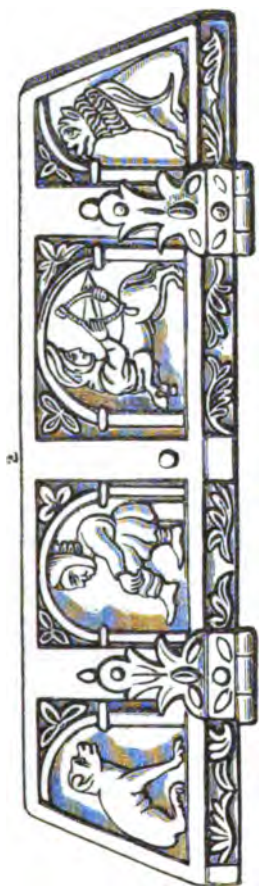
The fourth compartment represents two combatants, slightly clad, attacking each other with club and shield. This may possibly be intended to illustrate the story of Valentine and Orson.

The compartments are separated by foliated arabesques, and the tree in the second of them is of a very conventional character; the architectural details correspond well with the thirteenth century.

The rarity of caskets, either of wood or ivory, carved with such grotesques as are described above of this particular period, gives an unusual interest to Mr. Hopkins' box. At a later period (fourteenth to sixteenth century), scenes of chivalry and love were much more commonly adopted for caskets. One such casket, preserved in the church of St. Ursula at Cologne, serves as the depository of the bones of the foot of that sainted female! The small casket of the twelfth century, preserved in the Royal Museum of Copenhagen, is the only box which can be compared with the one described above. It is described in my Catalogue of Pictile Ivories, p. 243, No. 678.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Bestiaria* this beast is said to have been a tiger. Dibdin (*Bibl. De-cameron*, l. lxxxviii.) has engraved this

subject from the splendid *Aahmolean Bestiorium* now transported to the Bodleian Library.







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UTTING. 5.



July 7th, 1876.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

The noble CHAIRMAN introduced the Mayor of Colchester, Mr. Papillon, who, after speaking of the great pleasure with which he looked forward to the approaching visit of the Institute to Colchester, made some general observations upon the antiquities of that ancient town, and promised a cordial welcome on the part of the inhabitants to the members of the Institute and the visitors.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C. B., gave a discourse "On Recent Archæological Researches in Rome," illustrated by numerous and well-executed photographs (printed at p. 229). After describing the principal discoveries which have been recently made, the author spoke of the scheme for the new city of Rome, which was intended to consist of blocks of houses alternating with squares enclosing ruins and trees; but great difficulties were caused by the ruins not always coming in the right places, and many were consequently hidden, removed, or destroyed altogether. Mr. Parker returned to England by way of Sicily, where he carefully examined the public and other buildings. At the request of the meeting he gave the result of his investigations, and exhibited numerous photographs in illustration of what he had seen.

Lord TALBOT, in expressing the warm thanks of the meeting to Mr. Parker, adverted to the great value of his continued labours in the Eternal City, and the extreme interest his discoveries must have for all antiquaries, as revealing so much of the early history of the city.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "The Antiquities of Brittany" (printed at p. 271), giving a general sketch of its history, the ancient authors who have treated of it, and the special value of its remains, discussing at length the Roman antiquities and early stone monuments, and raising objections to many of Mr. Ferguson's theories and conclusions on the subject.

The value and interest of the memoir having been cordially acknowledged,

Mr. FORTNUM gave an epitome of some observations "On the bronze portrait busts of Michael Angelo, attributed to Daniele da Volterra and other Artists," which time did not allow him to read at length. (It is printed at p. 168.)

Mr. GREAVES exhibited a series of rubbings from Brasses in Morley Church, upon which he made some remarks. (Notes upon this subject are printed at p. 290.) The fact of three of the brasses having the figure of St. Christopher engraved upon them elicited some interesting observations from Mr. Waller, who mentioned a similar instance at Aix-la-Chapelle.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. PARKER.—Photographs of buildings in Rome and Sicily.

By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS.—Photographs of antiquities in Brittany, and a collection of Gaulish coins.

By Mr. S. S. LEWIS.—A collection of Gaulish coins.

By Mr. C. S. GREAVES.—Rubbings of brasses from Morley Church, Derbyshire.



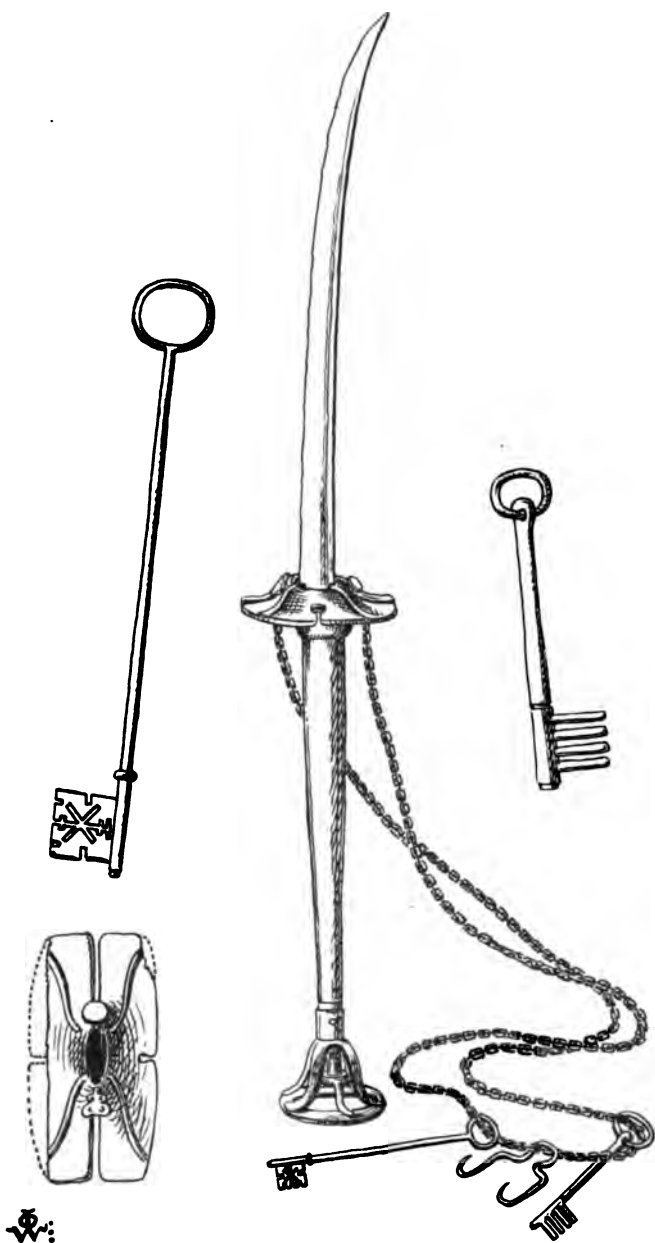
By Sir J. D. NORREYS.—A drawing of a remarkable window in Kiltartan Church, near Gort, county Galway, in the mullions of which he traced bolt holes for shutters, or movable frames, that contained glass or other material for admitting light, while protecting the objects on the altar.

By Mr. B. MONTGOMERIE RANKING.—A set of Indian playing cards, round in form, and ninety-four in number, enclosed in their original box.

Through the agency of Mr. Wright, an exhibition was made of celts of Jude, weapons, ornaments, &c., brought home by H.M.S. Challenger and Basilisk. These comprised some very fine weapons of an early type, some of which had been in use down to the present time, while others were for ceremonial purposes.

By Professor WESTWOOD.—A drawing of a sword lately brought to light in Oxford, with the following remarks upon it: "A remarkable sword with its appendages was recently brought to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, having, as is stated, been found in the cellar of an old house in the High Street of that city. It is altogether unlike any sword of which I can find any notice in the various works on arms and armour which I have consulted; and my old friend and school-fellow, John Hewitt, to whom I have sent a sketch of it, is also unacquainted with any similar weapon. The total length is 4 ft., of which the blade of the sword (which is covered with rust which has corroded the sharp edge) occupies 25 in.; the stem of the handle (which is of deal, and appears to have been turned in a lathe) being 18 in. long. The latter is pierced through the centre of its whole length for the reception of the narrowed base or tang of the iron, which is rivetted at its free bottom end to a small circular disc of iron, supported by two narrow bent strips of iron, the ends of which are fastened to the rim of an iron cup or stand, formed of four narrow iron bars, springing from a flat circular ring, on which the sword is able to stand upright without support. The guard of the sword is of wood of an oblong form, with the middle part raised into a boss, through which the tang of the sword runs. This guard has an elongated slit at each end, as well as a short one on each side, and is supported by four narrow strips of iron on its upper surface. Through the two longer slits are passed the ends of a long chain, with plain oval links, which are fastened to the guard by two iron studs, which are seen on each side of the base of the blade of the sword. To this chain are attached two keys of very ancient form, one being 12 in. long, with the wards of the lock forming a St. Andrew's cross, and with short marginal incisions. The other key has the wards formed into four straight bars, the handle terminating in a small hole, which receives a movable ring, through which the long chain is passed. Between these two keys hangs a strong bent double hook, apparently for suspending the sword with the blade downwards. The use of these appendages, and indeed of the sword itself, is not easy to surmise. It has indeed been suggested by several persons that it may have been a processional sword, in which case the keys would be those of some high official personage.—I. O. Westwood, M.A., Oxford. 4th July, 1876."

By Mr. CORNER.—A jet seal of Osbert de Kilton, of about the date 1150.



**SWORD FOUND IN OXFORD.**



## ANNUAL MEETING AT COLCHESTER, 1876.

August 1 to August 8.

The visit of the Institute to Colchester is one that had been long wished for by the members. The Roman history of the place, its Roman walls and remains, and the vast quantity of antiquities that have been found and are daily discovered, has indeed invested Camulodunum with an extraordinary interest; while the cordial reception of the Institute by the town and neighbourhood, and the large attendance of members and visitors, united in making the Congress one of the most interesting and agreeable Meetings that has been held for many years.

Tuesday, August 1.

At half-past twelve the Mayor and Corporation received the Institute in the Town Hall. The President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, was accompanied by Lord Carlingford, Lord Lieutenant of Essex; Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B.; Mr. Freeman; Mr. M. A. Bloxam; the Rev. Prebendary Scarth; the Rev. J. Fuller Russell; the Rev. C. W. Bingham; Colonel Pinney; Mr. G. A. Lowndes; Mr. Stephen Tucker (Rouge Croix), and many other members of the Council and of the Institute. There were also present Sir Thomas Western, Bart.; the Venerable Archdeacon Ady; Mr. P. O. Papillon, Mayor of Colchester; Mr. G. H. Errington, High Steward; Mr. James Round, M.P.; Mr. H. B. Praed, M.P.; Sir E. H. Greathead, K.C.B.; Mr. Perry-Watlington; the Rev. Barton Lodge; Mr. Wingfield Barker; Mr. T. Bourdillon; Mr. H. W. King, and many more of the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood.

The proceedings commenced by the Mayor inviting the noble President of the Institute to take the chair, and calling upon the Town Clerk, in the absence of the Recorder, to read the following address of welcome to the Institute, which had been beautifully engrossed on vellum and illuminated:—

*To the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

“LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Colchester, in the county of Essex, desire, on behalf of ourselves and our fellow townspeople, to assure you of a cordial welcome on this your first visit to our ancient and loyal borough, and we trust that the arrangements made, whether for the purpose of promoting the immediate objects of your Society, or of hospitality and social enjoyment, will have been such as will induce you to think that the few days passed amongst us will not be time ill spent.

“It is true we have no venerable cathedral to introduce to you, no

time-honoured collegiate buildings to attract your admiration ; but still we venture to think that our old town can compare favourably with any place in England in objects of great and historic interest, abounding, as it does, in almost unprecedented richness, in remains of the Roman occupation of our land, whether it be in the well-defined sites of villas, with their still buried tessellated floors, or in the frequently occurring tombs and funeral urns, these, together with the ancient guard-house, still marking the old entrance to the town, with its encircling and massive walls, afford the strongest circumstantial evidence of the lengthened habitation in this part of Britain, of its earliest conquerors known to authentic history.

"We take no little pride in our grand old castle, of origin much disputed, and trust that the better archaeological knowledge of the present day will awaken such a general interest as will enable us in some measure to repair the wrongs it has suffered from the ignorance of a past generation ; and with the greatest confidence we anticipate your unqualified approval of the treasures contained in the museum within its sheltering walls.

"It is scarcely necessary to point to the beautiful ruins of St. Botolph's Priory, with its picturesque western front, exhibiting a fruitful field of interest to the student of Ecclesiastical Architecture ; the liberal use of Roman tiles so conspicuous here is observable also in most of the ancient buildings of the town, notably in the Church of the Holy Trinity. The other great monastic establishment, St. John's Abbey, has disappeared, and left hardly a wreck behind ; but the gate-house, which does remain, and has recently been judiciously restored under the auspices of Major-General Montagu, R.E., while stationed here, is a fine specimen of fifteenth century work.

"Somewhere upon the site of the demolished building of this famous abbey stood, till the disastrous Siege of Colchester, the noble seat of the Lucases—a gallant member of which family (Sir Charles Lucas), after bravely defending the town for his king, was, with his equally heroic friend and companion in arms, Sir George Lisle, ruthlessly shot in the Castle Bailey, when prisoners of war, and the tombs of these unflinching martyrs of royalty, which will excite various feelings in the breasts of the spectators—in some enthusiastic admiration, in some pity, but in *all*, respect—are to be viewed in the vaults of St. Giles' Church close by.

"There are other interesting remains which will present themselves in the course of your inquiries and observations, and we feel well assured that they will form no unworthy theme for the disquisitions of your learned Society, and so minister to the general edification and enjoyment.

"Given under our Common Seal this 1st day of August, 1876."

In giving the Address to the President, the MAYOR said he might be allowed to say, for himself and for the inhabitants generally whom he represented at that moment, how gladly they welcomed the noble President and his learned Society to Colchester. They trusted that the arrangements which they had been enabled to make would prove to be satisfactory ; and that the sun which was shining so brightly on the commencement of their proceedings to-day might augur favourably for a successful meeting.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, in offering the thanks of the Institute for the kind feeling shown in the words of the Address, expressed his

gratification that the inhabitants appreciated their unrivalled castle so highly, and his hope that it would be preserved as much from further decay as from "restoration." He had been absent from Meetings of the Institute for many months, travelling in far distant countries; but he would not give them an essay upon archæology, nor would they hear from him any of those commonplace, which were now so unnecessary, in order to show the value of archæology—to show how much it had conducted to the elucidation of the history which surrounded the social habits of our forefathers. It was familiar to everybody that without the archæologists they should have known comparatively little of the inner life of the Egyptians or the Assyrians, and many of the most striking and important ruins in those countries would hardly have been known, such, for instance, as those of Balbeck, Petra, and, to a certain extent, Palmyra. If it had not been for the researches of the archæologist, they should know very little of the magnificence, and the grandeur, and the beauty of those countries. There was, however, one point which struck him in his travels, which, though simple, was still an interesting one. The attention of the public was very much directed now to what was called pre-historic archæology, remains which went very far to show the common origin of the human race. Great collections had been made at Copenhagen, in other places, and in this country, and it was interesting to notice in these large collections of weapons of the stone, bronze, and iron periods, how great a similarity prevailed in the forms those instruments took. His attention was particularly directed to this point, and, as far as possible, he inquired into it. In Mr. Marriette's Museum, at Boulac, in Egypt, he saw a quantity of knives of flint stone, closely resembling those of our own; and while in Syria he saw some objects of the same character, which had been found in that country, and pointing to the time of Sennacherib. He also saw some flint instruments in Smyrna, in the Greek Museum. These were only a few instances in point, and he had no doubt if the researches were only increased discoveries would be multiplied, and they should find a great many more of these instruments. He would further mention the very early works of art—he did not think there were many in flint or stone—which had been discovered in the ruins of Troy, and which he had seen. He must, he said, now conclude with the most agreeable part of his duty, which was to vacate the chair, and to propose as President of this meeting the noble Lord with whom they were all well acquainted—his noble friend Lord Carlingford—a distinguished statesman and well-known in the county to which he (Lord Talbot) belonged for his patronage of archæology, and of all the sciences which embellished civilised life. They knew him more particularly as he held the distinguished office of Lord Lieutenant of this county, and therefore, without further preface, he begged to propose that Lord Carlingford take the chair.

Archdeacon ADY now read the following Address from the Clergy of Colchester:—

"We, the Archdeacon and Clergy of Colchester, feel that we need not make use of many words in offering a most cordial welcome to your distinguished Society, upon the occasion of its visit to our ancient borough.

"It is our belief that the more intimate be our knowledge of the past history of our own country and particular dwelling-place, the more

deeply shall we be sensible of the favour bestowed upon us by a merciful Providence, who has cast our lot in a land

‘Where freedom slowly broadens down  
From precedent to precedent,’

and where we enjoy the blessings of an historic Church, dating from the earliest times of Christianity, and most closely interwoven with the life and fortunes of the nation.

“We welcome your coming to our ancient borough, which has a history ranging beyond the present era, and which boasts to be the birthplace of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, the son of a Colchester mother, Helena, believing that your sojourn amongst us will revive and extend our interest in antiquarian lore, and enrich our knowledge and appreciation of the heirlooms, ecclesiastical and civil, of our town and neighbourhood.

“Signed, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Clergy of Colchester,

“W. B. ADY, Archdeacon.”

The ARCHDEACON added a few remarks respecting the careful manner in which Church restoration had been carried out in Colchester and its neighbourhood, and Colonel PINNEY responded to the Address on the part of the Institute.

The SECRETARY of the Essex Archæological Society (Mr. H. W. King) then read the following address :—

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“Amongst the words of welcome which will greet you on your visit to Colchester, it would be strange indeed if the faintest and least cordial proceeded from the Essex Archæological Society. Engaged in the same pursuits, and devoted, according to their opportunities, to the study of the same objects, they hail with the liveliest satisfaction your advent upon the field upon which they have been employed, well aware that there remains new ground enough to interest you in your researches, and there is much in what has already engaged their speculations that may receive additional light from your greater knowledge and wider experience. To one obvious benefit which we anticipate from your visit we advert without hesitation or reserve: there are persons who systematically stand aloof from us with a kind of good-natured contempt, as if we were enthusiasts, wasting our time (as they say) upon trifles, worshippers of green dust, collectors, forsooth, of rubbish, adding nothing to the material resources of the neighbourhood, and doing very little towards cultivating the intellect and improving the taste. Now, a more correct estimate of Archæology may reasonably be hoped for, when tried men—men who have attained eminence and achieved reputation—are seen coming from a distance to join us, entering keenly, and with no little trouble to themselves, into our pursuits, and imparting the result of their investigations. Surely their voice will command attention, and their example will secure imitators, with the happiest effect, for, as our great Moralists asserts, ‘Whatever makes the Past, the Distant, or the Future predominate over the Present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.’ But Archæology does even more

than this ; and we, members of the Essex Archæological Society, welcoming you, my Lord, and the other distinguished members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, can recall, without any compunctious visitings, or the least consciousness that it is at all applicable to our case, that sarcastic remark which Cicero attributes to Cato, to the effect that he wondered how one Augur could meet another without laughing at the notion that they were both following a vain and silly imposture. So far is this from being the case, that we hail you with the greatest respect and esteem, as Professors of a useful, ennobling and captivating science of which we are only pioneers ; and we entertain the hope that your visit to Colchester may be an agreeable one to yourselves, and a gratifying reminiscence in future times to the inhabitants of this ancient town and neighbourhood. My Lords and Gentlemen, we heartily bid you welcome."

The REV. C. W. BINGHAM, in acknowledging the Address, said he would endeavour to keep as serious a face as an Augur could, and would try if he possibly could to keep from smiling when he beheld his brother Augurs of Essex. The members of the Institute always felt on occasions of their meetings that they owed an intense debt of gratitude to those local gentlemen who had been engaged in a work similar to their own, and who had, as it were, prepared the way for them, and pointed out to them those objects most worthy of notice. He should like to disabuse the minds of their Essex friends on one point. They must not suppose that all the members of the Institute came for the purpose of teaching. On the contrary, a great proportion of them, himself among the number, came for the purpose of learning—not for teaching, but to be taught ; and he had no doubt that a great many of them, when this meeting ended, would be ready to acknowledge that they had gained more information from the members of the Essex Archæological Society than they themselves had been able to impart.

Sir THOMAS WESTERN, on behalf of the country gentlemen of Essex, had much pleasure in greeting the President and the Members of the Royal Archæological Institute. The County begged to thank the Institute for coming there, and he assured them that although the Town of Colchester was exceedingly interesting in itself, the County generally had many buildings and objects of great antiquarian value which would well repay a visit.

Mr. JAMES ROUND, M.P., speaking on behalf of the gentlemen of Essex, of all ranks and degrees, beyond the limits of the Borough of Colchester, expressed his gratification at the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute, and adverted to the numerous antiquities in the county, and the advantages of the study of the arts and monuments of our forefathers.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., as one of the oldest members of the Institute, expressed the gratification that it gave the members to see the cordial manner in which they had been received by all classes. He congratulated lovers of Archæology, that proprietors of ancient remains in the country were now taking so deep an interest in them, and were seeing that they were properly preserved and restored ; he mentioned, as an instance of this feeling, the Castle of Hedingham, which was so well preserved under the fostering care of Mr. L. A. Majendie, M.P.

The noble President of the Institute then quitted the chair, which was



at once occupied by Lord Carlingford, and the Mayor, in the name of the Corporation and inhabitants, invited the members of the Institute to luncheon in the Corn Exchange.

The luncheon party numbered about two hundred and fifty, and was presided over by the Mayor. The usual loyal toasts having been given, Sir THOMAS WESTERN proposed the health of the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese, which was responded to by Archdeacon ADY, and Mr. PERRY-WATLINGTON proposed the toast of the Army and Navy, for which Sir EDWARD GREATHEAD returned thanks. The MAYOR then proposed, "Success to the Royal Archæological Institute," which was replied to by LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, who spoke of the hearty reception that had been accorded to the Institute in Colchester, and concluded by proposing the health of the Mayor and Corporation. The health of the Lord-Lieutenant of the County was proposed by Mr. J. ROUND, M.P., and responded to in felicitous terms by LORD CARLINGFORD; the toast of "The Ladies," proposed by Mr. H. B. PRAED, M.P. and replied to by MAJOR BISHOP, brought the proceedings to a close.

At 4 P.M. the President of the Meeting, LORD CARLINGFORD, delivered his Inaugural Address before a large audience in the Town Hall, treating generally upon the principal points of interest relating to Colchester and the neighbourhood. (The Address will be printed in a future number of the "Journal.")

At 9 P.M. the Historical Section opened in the Town Hall, when Mr. FREEMAN delivered an admirable Address. He commenced by directing attention to the many points of resemblance as well as of contrast between the countries of the East Anglians and of the West Saxons, according a certain priority to the former as Camulodunum was the earliest Roman settlement of importance. He then discussed the claims of the various places which had been regarded as the modern representatives of that settlement. The town of Maldon has the greatest number of supporters, but Mr. FREEMAN decided in favour of Colchester. As to the name of the river being the parent of the root of that of the town, he contested it somewhat hesitatingly. Few places could boast with Camulodunum of being spoken of so fully by the great Roman historian, and all these passages were discussed. After carefully describing the Roman walls, the lecturer then utterly rejected certain myths and traditions which had hung about the early history of the place—that of the Bithynian lady, Helena, being born there, the stories about King Coel and Constantine, and the idea of the *Norman* Castle being the *Roman* Temple of Claudius. Reviewing slightly the Norman history of Colchester, Mr. FREEMAN concluded by dwelling upon the memorable siege by Fairfax, and stoutly maintained that Lucas and Lisle, the Colchester heroes and martyrs, deserved their fate. (The Address will be printed in a future number of the "Journal.")

Wednesday, August 2.

At 8.30 a large party proceeded from the North Station by special train for Sudbury. Here the Mayor (Mr. THOMAS SMITH) and other members of the Corporation received the visitors, and a move was at once made to inspect the various objects of Archæological interest in the town. The first of these, some vestiges of the Priory, attracted a few of the visitors,

but there not being any special feature in them, beyond the remains of walls, the majority passed on to the Church of All Saints', which, tradition states, was at one time attached to the Abbey of St. Alban's. Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., drew attention to the principal features of the building, most of which, he said, was comparatively modern, and possessed but very little of Archæological interest. He pointed out that the shields on the mouldings of the Nave Arches were peculiar, and hoped that some local gentleman could have told them what arms were upon them. He fixed the period for the erection of the building as about the time of Henry VII. The roof bore signs of having once been painted, and certainly ought, he thought, to be restored. On the road to St. Gregory's Church, the party halted to examine the residence of the Rev. W. H. Molyneux, a fine specimen of Elizabethan work.

At St. Gregory's Dr. HOLDEN read the following remarks upon the Carter Chapel:—

"This chapel, originally St. Ann's, is East of the porch on the south side, and was restored three years ago by the Rev. S. A. Carter, the present representative of the family. It contains a monumental tomb, on which is inscribed particulars of a charity left by the will of Mr. Thomas Carter, who died in 1706, a gentleman of this parish; he endowed the church with an estate in Pebmarsh, value 70*l.* per annum, in order to clothe fifty of the poorest men in Sudbury with outward garments worth 14*s.*, and fifty of the poorest women with outward garments, worth 10*s.* a-piece, upon the Feast of St. Thomas every year for ever.

"Upon his tomb is an epitaph in Latin, which, after recording the name, age, and extensive benevolence of the deceased, closes in the following singular manner:—

"*Viator mirum referam, quo die efflavit animam Thos. Carter, prædictus, acûs foramen transivit Camelus Sudburiensis vade, et si dives sis tu fac similiter. Vale.*"

(It may be thus translated—)

"Traveller, I will relate a wondrous thing. On the day upon which the above-mentioned Thos. Carter breathed out his soul, a Sudbury Camel went through the eye of a needle! Go, and should you be rich, do likewise. Farewell."

Carter's charity continues, though there is often difficulty in getting fifty men and fifty women deserving poor, and in need of the "outward garments." Until a few years ago the men had coats all of same length and breadth, &c., and the women cloaks to match. Now the coats and cloaks are comfortably made, though the women invariably alter them to suit the style of the prevailing fashion.

The church of St. Gregory is mentioned in Doomsday, but the earliest existing remains are of the time of Henry VI. In the vestry was exhibited the skull of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who founded a college in the town, now turned into a workhouse. A hole at the top of the skull was shown as the mark of a nail said to have been driven in to fix the cap when the body was carried in procession by the Wat Tyler mob in London. Mr. Parker pointed out the chief features of interest in the building, including the font and its beautiful canopy. He strongly deprecated the excess of the modern colouring and decoration in the chancel, maintaining that mediæval churches were generally

coloured and painted, but simply, and in harmony with the architectural features, and instanced a Wesleyan chapel near Oxford, where the mediæval system of colouring had been most successfully carried out. He further said that the prejudice against painting the walls of churches was fast dying out, and while he objected to legends he considered that paintings of subjects taken from the Bible might forcibly convey scriptural lessons to those who could not read as well as to those who could. At St. Peter's, Dr. Holden made some remarks upon the fittings of the church, and the fine screen-work. Mr. Freeman made some observations upon the distinctive features of the church architecture of East Anglia, comparing it with that in the West of England, more especially with reference to the towers of the three churches of Sudbury, which alone showed that they were in East Anglia. He remarked upon the hexagonal abaci of the capitals, and compared them with the square abaci in the West of England, and pointed out a peculiarity in the tracery of the east window. The roof of the nave was described as of a character quite unique, and it would have been interesting to know if it was peculiar to the neighbourhood.

On leaving St. Peter's there was a general adjournment to the Town Hall, where the corporation had liberally provided light refreshments, and the whole party then drove to Hedingham Castle, where a large number of the *élite* of the district had assembled, by invitation of the owner, Mr. L. A. Majendie, M.P., who at once undertook to act as *cicerone*, and took the party round the extensive earthworks, and finally to the fine keep, which remains as the monument of one of the noblest and most ancient families in the world—the De Veres. Suffice it to say that the most noteworthy points of interest in this once grand fortress were explained by Mr. Majendie, who stated that the castle was said to have been built in the reign of William the Conqueror, but he considered it more probable that it was built in the reign of Henry I. He mentioned some notable events in connection with the castle, among them the death of Maud, the wife of King Stephen, which took place here in 1151. Henry VII. was sumptuously entertained at the castle by the Earl of Oxford, but the monarch did not show much appreciation for the hospitality that was shown him, for finding that the earl had given liveries to his retainers he fined him 15,000 marks. Mr. Parker said that an inquiry was instituted thirty or forty years ago into Norman masonry of the 11th century. Before that it was generally supposed that the Normans brought their architecture cut and dried out of Normandy, but the result of the investigation showed that Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, invented a style of stronghold suitable for countries where the population was hostile; and it was he who invented the so-called Norman keep, and built Mallig Castle. The plan was taken to Normandy, and re-introduced in England as a Norman production, the keep at Castle Hedingham being one of the finest examples. Some seven or eight years ago the foundations of the castle itself were laid bare, and showed that it was a very extensive place; and also in a most conclusive manner bore out the drawing of the pile as given by Morant. As soon as the perambulations had concluded, the party, which numbered not less than 200, partook of a most *recherché* luncheon in the Hall of Audience within the castle; and, before separating, Lord Talbot de Malahide conveyed to the kind host the thanks of the Institute for his reception of them, and

for his splendid hospitality. After luncheon, the interesting Gothic Church, built in all probability by the Earls of Oxford, was examined. The monument in the centre of the chancel, in memory of the 15th Earl of Oxford and his Countess, erected 1539, was here the special object of interest, and was described by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, who pointed to the peculiarities of the costume of the figures as distinctly Flemish in fashion, the tomb and effigies being sculptured in the well-known "touchstone" or black marble from the low countries. The church of Little Maplestead was the next place visited. Here a paper was read by Mr. C. Baily, detailing at length the history of churches of a circular form in England. This building, the smallest of the six round churches in the country, built on the plan of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, had unfortunately been restored to such an extent that it was extremely difficult to say how much was old and what portions were new. The whole of the surface of the stonework, indeed, bore the marks, not of the ancient *tooling*, but of the modern "drag." It was, therefore, not surprising that there were differences of opinion as to the genuineness of some of the details. This state of affairs was greatly to be regretted, and called forth many remarks of disapproval from those antiquaries who instinctively dread the process of restoration.

At Earls Colne Church, which was next inspected, a more thorough restoration still had been carried out, and with the exception of the tower the building presented the appearance of a new edifice. It was a real relief to turn from this to the fine effigies and tombs of the Veres, which have been sheltered and properly cared for at the residence of Mr. Carwardine, in Colne Park, a building formed out of the ruins of the priory, where the great Earls of Oxford were buried. "No king in Christendom hath such a subject as Oxford," said Lord Chief Justice Crewe, in that famous speech which Macaulay praises as among the finest specimens of the ancient English eloquence. "Time hath his revolutions, there must be a period and end to all temporal things, *finis rerum*—an end of names, and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene—and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? Nay, what is more and most of all—where is Plantagenet?"

The regular succession of the nineteen Earls of Oxford from 1137 to 1703 is unparalleled in the peerage, and the revolutions of time are well illustrated to-day at Castle Hedingham and Earls Colne;—their fortress is a ruin, their burying-places are obliterated, and their tombs and effigies have become the ornaments of a modern country house.

Of these effigies the earliest is a fine example in stone of the military costume of the latter end of the 13th century; it is vigorously carved, and in all probability represents Robert de Vere, who died in 1295. The alabaster effigy of Thomas de Vere lies upon a tomb of the same material, and represents the earl in a camail and jupon, and wearing "tegulated sollerets." He died in 1371, and bequeathed his body to be buried within the priory of Colne, on the north side, in the chapel of St. Peter, appointing for the expenses of his funeral, £133. To his wife Maud, daughter of Robert de Ufford, he gave all his relics, and among them a certain cross made of the very wood of the crucifix of Christ. To Robert, his son and successor, he gave two basons of silver, and to

his brother Aubrey de Vere, a coat of mail, a new helmet, and a pair of gauntlets. Another, and a very fine altar tomb sustains the effigies of Richard de Vere, and Alice, or Lancerona, daughter of Sir Richard Serjeaux. This ninth Earl of Oxford died in 1416, and bequeathed his body to be buried in the priory of Colne. He is represented in the full military costume of the period, and bears a remarkable resemblance to the effigy of Ralph Greene, at Lowick, in Northamptonshire, who died in 1419, and whose monument was executed by Thomas Prentys, and Robert Sutton, "Kervers," of Chellaston, in Derbyshire. The tomb of Richard de Vere is no doubt the work of these sculptors.

The Earl wears a bascinet with the motto *ih̄s n̄z̄a*, and an orle, a standard of mail, a plate gorget, and a collar of SS. Lancerona wears the horned head-dress which Walpole said was exactly like the "description of Mount Parnassus with two tops." On the sides of the tomb are twenty-four figures of mourners, chiefly in civil costume, and of the highest interest. It was in the contemplation of Stothard to include these monuments in his great work, but the intention was frustrated by his untimely death. In the Kerich collection at the British Museum are drawings of these tombs, taken by Tyson, in the latter end of the last century, and before their removal to their present positions.

In the modern Priory there was much to be seen of interest: a good thirteenth century Cartulary of Priory of Colne; a confirmation of the possessions, by an Archbishop of Canterbury, with a sounding anathema clause; a household book; the Prior's expenses, and the dietary of the monks, *tempa*. Henry VI., and many other MSS. Much old furniture, tapestry, and linen; a cabinet, formerly the property of Oliver Cromwell, and several very good portraits by Romney and others. The members were very hospitably entertained by Colonel Marsden and Mr. Carwardine, and, with the exception of a vehicle breaking down on the return home, a very successful and instructive day came to a close.

Thursday, August 3rd.

At 9 A.M. the general Meeting of the Members of the Institute took place in the Town Hall, Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the chair.

Mr. BURTT, *Hon. Secretary*, read the balance-sheet for the past year (printed at page 299). He then read the following

#### "REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1875—76.

"The present satisfactory condition of the Institute, in regard to finance, calls for no other observation on the part of the Council than its mention in terms of congratulation. Equal satisfaction may be expressed with regard to the very successful Annual Meeting of last year at Canterbury, where courteous hospitality and a rich mental feast were abundantly enjoyed. The results, moreover, have not been transient; for the numbers of the Journal which have been since published contain matter of great value and interest, which resulted from that Congress. We refer specially to the memoirs contributed by Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, Mr. Clark, and Prebendary Scarth.

"Casting a mere glance round the wide-spread field of archaeological

research, we note so many spots of interest where good work has been directed by scientific supervision, that we hardly dare stop at any one of them, lest their individual interest and importance should cause us to stay that rapid glance which our too limited time and space can only allow.

"In Egypt, Mariette Bey is accumulating and scientifically arranging many newly-found objects of high interest, artistically and historically, while the explorations directed by him, and whence those objects come, are the sources of further important information. Of minor objects, a loss has occurred at Alexandria by the careless burning of some worthless sheds, the fire communicating to neighbouring houses, in one of which a private collection of many and valuable antiquities was stored and lost.

"In respect to the elucidation of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian inscriptions and monuments, much excellent work has been done by some of the leading members of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and published in their 'Transactions.' The names of Birch, Sayce, Mr. Fox Talbot, Rawlinson, Bonomi, Boscawen, &c., are in themselves a host, among other contributors. Great aid to students of those ancient Oriental languages has also been given by lectures and grammars, delivered and published by some among those gentlemen. The result of Mr. George Smith's later visit to Assyria has not yet been made generally known, but it is to be hoped that his valuable researches may be continued in that all-important field, so soon as the season arrives and other circumstances are favourable.

"His discovery of Carchemish, the capital of the Hittites, or 'the Gate City,' according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, by which the theory of Mr. Hyde Clarke, formerly advanced, that the Etruscan people were of Hittite origin, would, in Sir Henry's opinion, seem to be confirmed; but the matter will require further elucidation before we may dare to venture upon a conclusion in respect to that paradox of history.

"The long accepted belief, upon which much has been argued, that the curious hut-shaped urns, and other rude pottery—undoubtedly of early date—discovered in the neighbourhood of Albano, had been so deposited before the cessation of volcanic action in the Albano mount (upon which some valuable dissertations have appeared in the Journal), and that the *Peperino* rock, beneath which they were stated to have been found, had been so deposited subsequent to their interment, has received a fatal blow from the careful investigations of the Padre Garrucci. In a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, that learned antiquary and accurate observer shows, that in no case were these *fecilia* found beneath the rocky stratum, unless it had been artificially pierced in the vicinity of their site—that, in fact, the tombs in which they had been deposited had been worked beneath that stratum either in the immediate vicinity of a natural or of an artificial break or opening in the rock which formed a roof to the tombs, excavated in the underlying soft and sandy stratum. This discovery removes them from that dreamland of remote antiquity to one more recent, but yet faraway.

"Impediments seem to have been thrown in the way of Dr. Schleimann's further excavations of the ruins of Hissarlik, and by which he has been deterred from further present progress. This is to be regretted; but it is also much to be desired that those investigations might be conducted with the aid and advice, and under the superintendence of some antiquary

of the largest knowledge and experience, that the secrets of the Troad might be fully and clearly revealed.

"Hardly has our curiosity been calmed, and the excavations of the Temple of Ephesus so ably conducted by Mr. Wood been for the time effected, though not completed, when it is again roused by the important undertaking of the German antiquaries in their investigation at Olympia. Waiting the complete and careful publication of their discoveries, we are stimulated to further inquiry by the able letters communicated to the 'Academy' by Professor Colvin, who visited the spot in company with Mr. Newton.

"Good work is also being done by the Athenian Archæological Society.

"The untiring energy of Mr. Parker keeps us well informed upon the progress of research in Rome, and although his opinions may not always be completely shared by other antiquaries, the value of the photographs taken under his order, and the notes supplied by him on the various discoveries are of the greatest importance and interest. The Municipal Commission of that city, among whose members are many of high scientific attainments, is doing work of greater extent and importance than generations have hitherto witnessed, and the abundant establishment of museums in which the numerous objects discovered find a fitting asylum, are of the greatest value to students of antiquity and of art. On these and other kindred subjects the valuable publications of the German Institute must always be referred to for important matter.

"A few 'finds' have occurred in Etruria, but too often the particulars are concealed. Palestrina has yielded remarkable objects of the goldsmiths' art, and among others we are told of a fibula of large size and early type, upon which a hunting scene is represented in careful execution of the finest granulated work.

"The curious and rare gold objects of the Lombardic period found at Chiusi, and the discovery made at Cividale of the tomb of Gisulphus, are valuable additions to our knowledge of the metal work of that obscure period; and latterly, an opening beneath the streets of Paris has revealed the remains of Merovingian interments, described in a late number of the *Revue Archéologique*.

"We may not attempt to do more than refer to the numerous discoveries of Roman remains in various parts of England and the Continent, recorded in the Journals of various Societies, &c., nor to equally valuable investigations of mediæval and other churches and monuments.

"One among the many important additions to the stores of antiquarian record ought not to be omitted from our notice—the more so as it springs from private liberality. Mr. Franks has presented to the library of the Society of Antiquaries the richest collection of rubbings from English and other brasses that has ever been accumulated; these, classified according to the counties in which the brasses (many now lost) originally existed or exist, are a mine of genealogical, historical, and heraldic wealth, where the inquirer may dig deeply without exhausting the rich lode.

"With much satisfaction the Council draw attention to the very gratifying and encouraging resolution passed by the members assembled at the last Annual Meeting of the Institute, and recorded on p. 505 of the last

volume of the 'Journal,' in reference to that publication. They believe that the excellent character of that work then spoken of has been since fully sustained, and the regularity of its appearance preserved.

"It is with great regret, however, that they are obliged to advert to the fact that the 'General Index,' so long announced, is not yet ready for distribution to the members. The labour of amalgamating the work of the various gentlemen who kindly undertook the task of producing something like uniformity in the system upon which the work was to be carried out, and applying to each individual's labours the rules framed for the guidance and consideration of all, has been found much heavier than was anticipated, and the labours of the Editor of the Index in the general work of the Institute have seriously interfered with its progress. But the 'Index' is fast progressing; the 'copy' to the end of the letter 'E' is in the printer's hands, and the Council trust the work will be completed and in the hands of members before the close of the present year.\*

"It is also not without some anxiety that the Council draw attention to the absolute necessity for strengthening the Executive of the Institute. Whereas for many years in the earlier history of the Institute the general conduct of its business was the work of *three* Honorary Secretaries, those duties have for some few years past been entirely performed by *one* such officer—a state of things which cannot much longer continue without disadvantage to the best interests of the Society.

"In referring to the many losses which death has caused among their members the Council has a mournful task. They have since the Canterbury Meeting to record the decease of the following:—

"Mr. R. Davies, of York. He was Town Clerk of York when the Institute held their Annual Meeting in that city in 1846, and was an active member of the Local Committee formed for that Meeting. On that occasion he contributed two memoirs which are printed in the York volume, and he has maintained his interest in the Institute by subsequent contributions to the journal.

"Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester. He was a member of the Institute from its first formation. For many years he contributed largely to the interest and success of its Annual Meetings by his brilliant biographies of eminent mediæval churchmen, some of which have appeared in the 'Journal.' The fame of the writer of the 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,' belongs, however, to the general literary and polemical history of the time, which has given high approbation to the work.

"The Lord Fitzwalter. As Sir Brook Brydges, this nobleman had for many years been a member of the Institute. Always most anxious to foster the prosecution of Archæological research in the county of Kent, where he resided, he kindly accepted the post of President for the Annual Meeting last year, but his health so entirely broke down before the Meeting that the duties of his post were kindly undertaken by Sir Walter James, Bart.

"Mr. W. D. Cooper. A native of the county of Sussex, of whose Archæological Society he was an active member; he took much interest in the Chichester meeting of the Institute in 1853, and contributed a memoir to its proceedings.

\* In consequence of Mr. Burt's lamented death the publication of the "Index" was interrupted; Sir John Maclean has now, however, kindly undertaken the labour of its completion, and some portion of it is actually printed.



"W. Perry Herrick, of Beaumanor, Leicester. For many years a member of the Institute; he was a great supporter of the Annual Meeting at Leicester in 1870. On that occasion he gave a most hospitable reception at his noble mansion, exhibiting there a rich store of MSS., and a considerable collection of most interesting objects illustrating the arts and the customs and manners of bygone days.

"Rev. Dr. Faulkner Lee. For many years a member of the Institute, and an occasional contributor to its proceedings. He took an active part in promoting the Meeting held at Lancaster in 1868, and in discussing many of the subjects then brought under the consideration of the Institute.

"Rev. J. Lane Oldham. A very early member of the Institute, and a zealous coadjutor with the late Lord Braybrooke in the prosecution of those active and painstaking researches into the evidences of the Roman occupation of portions of Essex and Cambridgeshire, which are so fully and ably recorded in many of the early volumes of the 'Journal.'

"Rev. J. H. Austen. For many years 'Local Secretary' in Dorsetshire, and a keen investigator of the evidences of the early occupation of our Island in the south-western district. Several contributions upon this subject will be found in the 'Journal,' and it should be recorded that at the Southampton Meeting he exhibited a large and remarkable series of sketches and drawings in its illustration.

"Sir John Murray Nasmyth, Bart. An early member of the Institute, and an active and genial supporter of the Meeting held at Edinburgh.

"Although not a member of our Institute, we may not pass on without alluding to the great loss which the ranks of our first historians and antiquaries have suffered, by the death of the lamented Earl Stanhope, whose name and whose works have been so long conspicuous. We need not dwell upon this painful subject which was so feelingly and so justly commented upon by his successor in the chair of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Frederick Ouvry, in his address to that society at their Annual Meeting of the present year.

"At the last Annual Meeting of the Institute a change was made in constitution of your Council, by the resolution proposed by Sir JOHN MACLEAN, recorded on p. 505 of the last volume of the 'Journal,' by which the retirement of members was directed to be made in order of seniority, with power of re-election. In accordance with that resolution the Council report the retirement of Mr. G. T. Clark as Vice-President, in whose place they recommended the re-election of Mr. Octavius Morgan. The senior auditor, Lieut.-Col. Lennard, and Mr. G. T. Clark (the retiring V.-P.) will come in due course upon the Council.

"The names of the six senior members of the Council who retire are Mr. Talbot Bury, Mr. E. Oldfield, Mr. W. H. Tregellas, Rev. J. F. Russell, Mr. T. Roger Smith, and Rev. R. P. Coates, who are eligible for re-election for the four vacant places. As Auditor the Council recommend Mr. J. Hilton in the place of Lieut.-Col. Lennard."

The adoption of the report having been moved and seconded, Mr. BURTT referred to the negotiations as to the place of meeting for 1877, and mentioned that cordial invitations had been received from Hereford and Northampton.

Pending further negotiations the Rev. E. HILL proposed and Mr. G.

A. LOWNDES seconded, that the question be referred to the Meeting of Council in London which was carried unanimously.

George Matcham, Esq., D.C.L. We cannot allow another number of the "Journal" to go to the press without recording the loss of an Antiquary of no inconsiderable eminence, the late George Matcham, Esq., D.C.L., of Newhouse and Boscombe, co. of Wilts, and Hoadlands, co. of Sussex; who died on the 18th January, 1877, in the 88th year of his age. He was the eldest son of George Matcham, Esq., of Ashfold Lodge and Hoadlands, Sussex, by Catherine youngest daughter of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham-Thorpe, co. Norfolk, and sister of our great naval hero, Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson of the Nile, to whose estates and peerage he was in remainder, and would have succeeded, had the late Earl Nelson died childless. His paternal family were formerly settled in Dorset, in which county an ancestor (Thomas Matcham) purchased the manor of Upper Wimborne in 1547. Mr. Matcham was born in 1789, and married in 1817, Harriet eldest daughter and heiress of William Eyre, Esq., of Newhouse. In 1820 he was admitted an advocate of Doctors' Commons, and in the same year was appointed a magistrate and D. L. of the County of Wilts. To his magisterial duties he devoted himself with characteristic energy and intelligence, and in 1836, succeeded the late Earl of Radnor, as Chairman of the South Wilts Quarter Sessions, which honourable post he occupied for more than thirty years, and, retiring from it at the age of 80, received a valuable piece of plate and vote of thanks from his brother magistrates, in testimony of their high estimation of his services throughout that lengthened period. But even in this mature retirement, his active interest in the well doing of the county never ceased, and every emergency found him ready with his strong argumentative powers and highly cultivated mind, to give the best opinion and advice. It is, however, as a highly accomplished antiquary that we are specially bound to speak of him. He rendered most important assistance to the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., by contributing the Part relating to the Hundreds of Downton and Frustfield to his History of Modern Wilts. The admirable paper, with which he inaugurated the Meeting of our own Society at Salisbury in 1849, will be in the recollection of many of our readers, and may be found in the forefront of our Salisbury Volume. It condenses with masterly and exhaustive accuracy the results, which had thus been reached, of Archæological Investigation in Wiltshire. In society, he was a most interesting companion, abounding with anecdotes of his earlier years, when much of his time was spent with his uncle, the great admiral, at Merton, in association with many of the most distinguished and best informed persons of the day. He retained his faculties to the last, and left behind him an example rarely equalled of an honourable, learned, and generous English country gentleman.

The Architectural Section met in the Lecture Room of the Literary Institution at 10 A.M. Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., in the chair (in the absence of the President of the Section, Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.)

MR. CHARLES FOSTER HAYWARD read a paper on Layer Marney Tower. Running rapidly over the history of this noble building, he traced the genealogy of the Marney family, who, he said, lived at Layer Marney for centuries preceding the year 1500 or 1525, when the present building was commenced, but never finished, for the family became extinct at the

period when the portion which now stands was completed, and thus what was evidently intended to be an enormous quadrangular pile, is merely a tower and wing. The building is principally of brick, but the windows and some portions of the tower have a thin layer of terra-cotta over them; the parapet of the tower being described as exhibiting some exceptionally beautiful work in a most beautiful building. Mr. HAYWARD gave some interesting particulars of the Church, and the tombs of the Marneys, including one of terra-cotta which contains some of the details of the parapet, and spoke of many other works of terra-cotta of the period in different parts of the kingdom. In reply to Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, Mr. HAYWARD said the building was evidently not intended for defence; simply as a sumptuous dwelling for the family. Mr. G. A. LOWNDES mentioned St. John's College, Cambridge, which was built about the same period, as being similar in style. The CHAIRMAN asked if Mr. HAYWARD knew of any other examples of terra-cotta work, like the present instance, in Ecclesiastical buildings in Essex; but Mr. HAYWARD replied in the negative; quoting, however, several examples of moulded brickwork which had evidently had a coating of terra-cotta. Lord TALBOT asked whether in the cases of brick towers the interior as well as the exterior was of that material? Mr. CHANCELLOR replied that as a rule such was the case. He mentioned one instance—Chignell Smealey—of a Church which was not only entirely of brick, but which had a brick font. The place was called by the country people Brick Smealey—a very significant name.

Mr. F. CHANCELLOR, of Chelmsford, then read a very valuable and instructive paper on "the Chapel of Great Peter-on-the-Wall, at Bradwell," with the object to determine whether this curious Church was built in the Roman, the Saxon, or the Norman period, or even later than that. As to the Romans, Mr. CHANCELLOR thought it was impossible that they should have built it because the edifice is out of character with the military fortifications, a feature which would have been found in the castellation; and, besides this, though Roman materials enter into its construction, they are not used in the manner that the Romans would have used them. As regards the Saxons, the first-named objection to its Roman origin applies equally to them, and there are also no long or short quoins which are to be found in Saxon work. As to the Normans the buttresses which are to be found in the building forbid the belief that they constructed it in their earlier times, and Mr. CHANCELLOR leaned to the opinion that it was built from the remains of the Roman wall upon which it stands, at the transition period between the Normans and the Early English, probably in the 12th century. Mr. CHANCELLOR then described the building and its characteristics. In the course of some discussion, the CHAIRMAN said his first impression of the building was that it had been built at an earlier period than the 12th century, but Mr. CHANCELLOR had established his point by the evidence brought forward. He had been examining Holy Trinity Church that morning, and he had no doubt that that also belonged to the close of the 11th century. The Church of the earliest date in this county was Assington. The walls of this Church were 8 feet thick, and it was a good type of the Anglo-Saxon period, having been built by Canute in 1010 or 1020. The CHAIRMAN also mentioned the curious fact that after the year 1000 there was an immense revival of religious life; so much so, indeed, that

an historian of the period spoke of all Europe as "putting on a new white robe," so numerous were the Churches erected, in anticipation of the end of the world, or at least, the Millennium. So strong indeed was this belief, that in all legal documents of the period the words "the end of the world being near" were used as the concluding sentence. At the conclusion of the discussion, the CHAIRMAN spoke in high terms of Mr. CHANCELLOR's paper, which will be printed in a future number of the "Journal."

The Historical Section met for the second time at 10 A.M. in the Town Hall, the President of the Section, Mr. FREEMAN, in the chair.

The Rev. BARTON LODGE read a short memoir on Eudo le Dapifer, recounting his great benefactions to Colchester, his foundation of the Abbey of St. John, and his general connection with the town. Mr. HURNARD inquired whether there was any evidence that Eudo built the Castle, mentioning that the late Mr. Jenkins had pronounced strongly in favour of the Castle belonging to the Norman period. Mr. PARKER said it was a Norman Castle, and to say it was Roman would be absolute nonsense, the CHAIRMAN adding that the notion that the Castle was a temple of Claudius was absurd. The paper by Mr. WALDENE, on Havelok the Dane, having been postponed, owing to the non-arrival of the sketches and notes, Mr. FREEMAN alluded to his having been challenged by a gentleman he did not know, on Colne Green, on Wednesday, as to his authority for stating in his address on the previous evening, that Lucas and Lisle were executed because they broke their *parole d'honneur*. Mr. Clement Markham, he said, would be in Colchester on Monday, and would then describe more fully the incidents of the siege. The matter then dropped, but a few minutes afterwards Mr. JOHN PIGGOT, Jun., coming into the room, inquired if it would be in order to refer to the subject, and proceeded to address the Meeting. The Chairman, he said, had vilified those distinguished Royalists, Lucas and Lisle, in the absence of their gallant descendant, Colonel Lucas, and the people of Colchester were not prepared to accept his statement. Mr. PIGGOT was proceeding, when he was called to order in a severe and dignified manner from the Chair, Mr. FREEMAN remarking that there was no name more honoured in the neighbourhood of Colchester than that of Fairfax. The Rev. Dr. RAVEN then read a paper on "Colchester and the Via Devana," and the Meeting broke up.

In the afternoon a large party visited a portion of the various places of archæological interest in the town. Starting from the Town Hall about half-past two, the first object of examination was some pargetting work at the back of Mr. Clarkson's house, where also were some Norman passages; and the remains of an ancient Chapel, formerly used by Dutch refugees, and said to be of Norman origin. A move was then made to St. Martin's Church, which, perhaps, bears as ancient an appearance as any in the town, and contains, among other features, a magnificent carved Chancel roof, which has just been uncovered at the expense of Sir Gilbert Scott. Sir GILBERT, after making some general remarks upon antiquity, as assigned to different materials, gave a careful description of this roof, which, he said, was now brought to light after a lapse of two centuries, and was five and a-half centuries old. He pointed out its striking features, and mentioned that although it had borne the brunt of 550 years or more, the oak carving which composed the roofing

was as sound as ever. The work, however, he said was not quite complete, as some very excellent tracery had been taken away, but sufficient remained for its restoration. The Church was one of those rare instances in which the Nave, Chancel, and the Sanctuary were distinctly shown, the Sanctuary arch exhibiting some excellent carving. In reply to the Rector (the Rev. W. LAING), Sir GILBERT said the Pulpit appeared to be composed of 18th century framework, but the panels were 17th century work.

Mr. PARKER subsequently drew attention to the squint, or hagioscope, an aperture pierced through the Chancel arch, by which the congregation in the North Transept were enabled to see the Elevation of the Host. The aperture is so constructed that the centre of it is in an exact line with the centre of the Holy Table. St. Runwald's Church was next visited, standing alone in the middle of High Street. This very small Church being about to be taken down excited some interest. The north aisle and arcade, of Perpendicular work, are its best features, and many regrets were expressed that it could not be preserved. From thence the party proceeded to Holy Trinity Church, where Mr. FREEMAN pointed out the absurdity of calling the tower Saxon, an act which implied that the East Saxons did not still exist in a district which still continued and he hoped long would continue to be East Saxon. Mr. FREEMAN then called attention to the principal features of this part of the church, and remarked that there were evidences in it which clearly pointed to the fact that it was built on the site of a more ancient building, though the remaining portions of the church were purely modern.

Sir GILBERT SCOTT made a searching examination of the Tower, and remarked upon its distinctive so-called Saxon features, such as windows displayed equally inside and out, &c.

St. Peter's and St. Mary-at-the-Walls were next inspected, and a thorough examination was then made of the remains of the old Roman Wall in Balkerne Lane, on some portions of which there are good specimens of the original facing; and the admirably preserved Decuman Gate at the top of Balkerne Hill, the only existing Roman Gateway and Guard-House. Here some of the party diverged under the guardianship of Mr. P. O. Papillon to the piece of ground between the Colchester Union and Blatch Square, where, at the instigation of Mr. Laver, who, on the commonly received belief that the old Roman way to Londinium from the Balkan or Decuman Gate crossed to the London Road at the point where the Hospital now stands, conjectured that Roman remains might be found. A party of sappers and miners had excavated and discovered the pavement of a Roman villa. The soldiers had been retained for the arrival of the party, who found a large amount of tessellated pavement laid bare on the very spot selected for exploration, and the pick-axes of the soldiers thus intelligently guided revealed further proofs of Roman work, while the company waited to see the result of a few minutes' labour, a circumstance justifying the conclusion that further researches, carefully prosecuted, may yet lead to more important results. Proceeding to Beverley Road, Mr. George Joslin's splendid museum of Roman remains was examined, and well deserves a special notice. We may safely say that it is one of the best private collections of Roman remains in the country, and additional interest is

given to it by the circumstance that every specimen was discovered within a very short distance of Mr. Joslin's house. The principal attraction undoubtedly is the sepulchral monumental stone, six feet high, and two feet eight inches wide, representing a Centurion of the Twentieth Legion of the Roman Army. This fine monument, which was found in 1868, in a field belonging to Mr. George Joslin, and not far from the spot where the celebrated Colchester Sphinx (which now adorns the Castle Museum) was discovered in 1821, represents the Centurion in full armour, and the inscription at the foot runs thus :—

M·FAVON·M·F·POL·FACI  
 LIS·LEG·XX·VERECVND  
 VS·ET·NOVICIVS·LIB·POSV  
 ERVNT· H. S. E.

Concerning the Museum generally, it may be stated that there are no less than fifty groups of various Roman vessels, in a remarkably fine state of preservation, the groups consisting of from two to fourteen pieces each. Among the most noticeable features is a tomb formed of four upright tiles supporting another tile at the top, which, when found, was filled with earth in which were embedded five glass and earthenware vessels. There are also large and small cinerary urns of divers shapes and patterns found in the sand in Alexandra Road, Blatch Square, and other places; splendidly perfect specimens of Samian ware and fragments of the same; Roman lamps of peculiar shapes; a variety of water-bottles manufactured out of porous earth, and usually found in groups with cinerary urns, &c. We may also mention a remarkable funeral deposit in a pan, which consists of calcined bones, and is covered by a large Samian patera, on which appears the maker's name—"Regalis," stamped in the manner usual with articles of this kind. It should be added that the patera had been broken, and it displays the style of mending earthenware adopted by the Romans. There is also a Roman jet bracelet, finger rings and hair pins; and a Roman woman's trinkets and toilet requisites. The latter collection (found in cinerary urns at West Lodge) are well deserving of notice, as also are some lachrymatories or tear-bottles, found in cinerary urns, and supposed to have contained the tears of the deceased's friends, and a peculiarity in regard to one lachrymatory is that it has indented sides. In a mahogany case at the north end of the Museum are some very valuable objects, among them being a group of figurines and pottery exhumed by Mr. Joslin behind his house in 1866. Of the figurines, of which there are thirteen specimens, one appears to represent Hercules; one a buffoon, and four are recumbent, while several, from the ludicrous expressions of countenance, are believed to be caricatures. In the same cabinet are groups of glass vessels of various patterns; also a group consisting of beads in glass and brouze, and the contents of a box, consisting of a speculum, a bracelet, on which is suspended a coin of Nero, a pair of tweezers, and some small bronze rings, while in the cinerary urn with the calcined bones were four dice and a number of bone counters. In the centre of the Museum stands a magnificent fragment of tessellated pavement found in Mr. R. Hall's garden, North Hill, twenty years ago, and a case of coins, some of which are in fine condition. In addition to

the above there are an almost endless number of specimens of pottery and other antiquities, which we have not space to particularise.

The Museum is remarkable for the genuineness of the whole collection, there being a commendable absence of the "rubbish" with which not a few, both private and public Museums, are too often filled up.

The party then proceeded to Lexden Park, where refreshments were kindly provided by the hospitable owner of the mansion, Mr. G. H. Errington, High Steward of the Borough, after which they were conducted under the shade of the trees, where the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH read a paper, which, he said, he trusted would once and for all establish beyond controversy the long disputed site of Camulodunum. After enumerating the various theories afloat concerning the Ancient City, which Camden had placed at Maldon, and others had fixed in Yorkshire, the Western, the Midland Counties, and even in Scotland, Mr. Scarth cited passages from Pliny and Tacitus, which, taken in connexion with the many coins of Cunobeline found at Colchester, and the existence of such a vast and splendid collection of Roman remains as the town affords, together with the earthworks, over which Mr. Errington would shortly conduct them, went to prove, he considered, incontrovertibly that Colchester was the *Roman* Camulodunum, and Lexden and Lexden Heath the *British* Camulodunum, Camulodunum embracing a circuit of some three miles or more. Remarking on the absence of any certain history with regard to the exact spot where Boadicea fell, he expressed his strong conviction that it lay somewhere between Lexden and London. This learned paper is printed at p. 325. After inspecting the extensive British earthworks in the Park the company separated. A *Conversazione* of the members of the Institute, and of the Essex Archaeological Society, was held in the Castle, when a distinguished party was brought together within the old walls. The Museums were the actual centres of the gathering, but the whole Castle, including the vaults, the cells, &c., were brilliantly lighted up, and formed a scene which will not easily be forgotten. At about half-past nine, the Rev. C. L. ACLAND, Head-Master of the Royal Grammar School, gave a most interesting notice of that foundation, which dated, he said, from 1637. In the time of Henry VIII., the town and school were rich in endowments; but that king, whom he described as a man who would steal £5 from A., and salve over his crime by giving a shilling to B., confiscated the whole of them, with the exception of the Chauntry of St. Helena, the endowments of which supported the grammar school. Quoting from the *Liber Scholæ*, Mr. Acland read extracts from the statutes of the school; and commented upon them in a chatty, conversational style, and concluded a capital paper by reading some names of boys in the school in the 17th century, many of which struck familiarly to his hearers, and have their counterparts in the town and district at the present time.

STEPHEN TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) expressed an opinion that the records of the grammar school should be published, and quoted, as an instance of their value, the fact that he had, within the last few days, been enabled to solve a mystery he had been trying to unravel for months, through the agency of the *Liber Scholæ*. The *Conversazione* concluded about eleven o'clock.

Friday, August 4th.

An excursion was made by road to Copford, Layer Marney, Maldon, and Beeleigh Abbey, the party starting from the Town Hall at 9 a.m. Copford Church was first reached; this remarkable Norman building was described by Mr. Hayward. In the vaulted roof of the apsidal chancel is a most interesting series of frescoes, representing Christ upon a throne, a rainbow in the background, and clouds beneath his feet. His right hand is in the attitude of benediction, and his left rests upon a closed book; on either side are figures of apostles under canopies; the general scheme of the work being perhaps as early as the twelfth century, but much restored in the fourteenth century. About and below the majesty are figures of angels, and in the background the towers of the New Jerusalem. On the soffit of the chancel arch are represented the signs of the zodiac, some few of them original, but the whole of the work having been lately restored, much of its real interest was lost. A large quantity of bricks, Roman and mediæval, had been used in the walls, and the church was probably the work of the builders who were employed at Hedingham Castle. It is due to the restorer of these paintings, Mr. Daniel Bell, to say that accurate tracings were taken before their restoration, and remain as a record of their state when they were discovered.

Mr. PARKER said that it must be borne in mind that the whole of our churches were decorated, or intended to be decorated, in order to teach ignorant people by the eye, instead of, or as a supplement to, the ear; and it was thus that in old times people who could not read were taught. There had been a sort of Puritanical objection raised to paintings, but where only scriptural subjects were used, and legends were excluded, no Christian ought to have any objection to them. Alluding to the architecture of the church, Mr. Parker said it was a remarkable Norman church, and had originally a Chantry chapel attached. There had been also a rood loft. The design was evidently of the twelfth century, but the church generally, including the paintings, had been touched up in the fourteenth century.

Sir GILBERT SCOTT next said a few words, remarking that the paintings were a most surprising and valuable discovery. Excepting the Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, he had never seen anything in his whole experience to compare with it. He thought the original design of the Church was of the early part of the twelfth century, and the porch was the most beautiful specimen in the country.

Those of the members who recollected that interesting paper by Mr. Way, printed in Vol. v., p. 185, "On the Tradition of Flaying, Inflicted in Punishment of Sacrilege," sought eagerly for fragments of the exuvæ of the Dane, formerly attached to the door of the church, but without success; a portion of the robbers' hide was, however, exhibited by the rector, to the great gratification of those curious antiquaries.

At Layer Marney Tower, Mr. Hayward repeated the substance of his discourse at Colchester, and pointed out the beauty of the terra-cotta work, and the fine moulded brick chimneys of this splendid building. In the church close by, built by the Marneys, the tombs of that ancient family excited, as they deserved, much interest. The earliest is that of Sir William Marney, who died in 1414. It is tenderly sculptured in



pure alabaster, and represents the knight in a bascinet, inscribed on the front the *naẓārenus*, a camail, and a jupon, charged with the arms — a lion rampant regardant. The fine terra-cotta tomb, and canopy of Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Marney, who died in 1525, is quite unique of its kind in this country, and some of its delicate details may be compared with Torrigiani's work on the tomb of Henry VII., at Westminster. It was probably the production of a native school of art formed at the time, that Torrigiani was at work among "those beasts of Englishmen." That the effigy itself is foreign, and Flemish, there can be little doubt. Like that of the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, at Castle Hedingham, it is carved in black marble, and it is interesting to see the foreign interpretation of the details of the Garter on the left leg. The effigy of Lord Marney's son, also in black marble, attracted some attention, and elicited some remarks from Mr. Bloxam with reference to certain peculiarities connected with the altar-tomb upon which it is placed. Arrived at Maldon, the party had luncheon at the Blue Boar, and there inspected the Church of All Saints and its unique triangular tower. This unusual plan did not seem to be entirely accounted for by its position close to the Roman road, and opinions much differed in respect of it. It is possible that it may be emblematic of the Trinity, like Sir Thomas Tresham's remarkable triangular Lodge at Rushton, near Kettering. Beneath the south aisle was a fine *capella carnaria* or ossuary, and in the church some tombs of the D'Arcy family. The Town Hall, a building of the time of Henry VI., contained some early charters and other corporation documents, which were interpreted by Mr. Burt with wonderful facility. The portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne, and George III. were here examined, and one attributed to George II. was thought to represent William III. The fine library of Dr. Plume at St. Peter's Church was a sight to have delighted the eyes of Dibdin; and here were some portraits of the time of Elizabeth, painted upon panel, and probably original.

A walk of about a mile along the ridge overlooking the Blackwater, and the site of the great battle in the ninth century, brought the party to Beeleigh Abbey, founded in the twelfth century. The principal remains of this once fine establishment were the Refectory and Chapter House, both with good groined roofs. In the former, a spacious fireplace caused a lively discussion, Mr. Hartshorne considering that its general character, and its great width of 12 feet, precluded the possibility of its having elsewhere served as a tomb, which some of the members were disposed to think. Mr. Parker believed that it was contemporary with the building, and made some general remarks upon the plan of the Abbey, the remains of which he said were very good; he thought the Dormitory must have originally been much larger. A long and wet drive brought the party back to Colchester.

Saturday, August 5th.

This day was devoted to Wyvenhoe, Brightlingsea, and St. Osyth's Priory, and a large number of members started in open carriages from the Town Hall, at 9 A.M. At Wyvenhoe the church had lately been restored, so that little of interest remained beyond the fine brasses of William Lord Beaumont, who died in 1507, and that of his wife,

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Scrope. She afterwards married John, fourteenth Earl of Oxford, and, dying in 1537, bequeathed her body to be buried by the side of her first husband, in Wyvenhoe Church. Adjoining the churchyard were some domestic buildings, with good pargetting work, and called "The Garrison," possibly from some connection with the Civil Wars. At Brightlingsea a church, with one of the noblest towers in Essex, Mr. FREEMAN instituted an excellent comparison between the architecture of East Anglia and that of the West of England. There was much Perpendicular work, he said, and of the best kind in both districts, and the style in each case was largely ruled by the materials,—stone being used in the west, and flint, with small stone dressings or brick, in the east. It was very clear that the original church here was of the fourteenth century, some parts perhaps a little older. This was changed at the end of the fifteenth century into the characteristic low-roofed church of the later style. The tower was extremely characteristic of Essex and very fine, the best use having been made of the local materials. With regard to the large single window in the belfry stage, it was better suited to the nature of the material that was used; in the stone districts in the West of England it was usual to find several belfry windows in the same position. Within the church were several small brasses, all subsequent to the time of Henry IV., two of ladies of the time of Henry VII. imposed upon earlier ones of priests. In the chancel was a ponderous monument of the latter end of the eighteenth century, occupying nearly the whole of the north side. A pleasant drive of a few miles brought the party to St. Osyth's, where the church, a large heavy structure of brick, was described by Mr. PARKER, who stated that it was perfectly easy to see there had been an earlier church there, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, some of which work remained. He thought they commenced rebuilding the church on a grand scale in the time of Henry VIII., but the work appeared to have been cut short for want of funds. He specially pointed, in proof of this, to two unfinished piers with the hagioscope in each, and to the usually rich character of the nave and the roofs, the North aisle of which was in Henry VIII. style. He thought that both of the hagioscopes would have commanded a view of the High Altar if the rebuilding had been completed as was apparently intended. Attention was drawn to the very clean state of the roof of the nave, and Mr. Parker being asked if it was a fact that a roof made of sweet chestnut was never affected by spiders or other insects, replied that he believed it was so with regard to some kinds of wood, but whether sweet chestnut or a variety of oak he could not say.

MR. FREEMAN said the building was a peculiar one and very puzzling at first sight, requiring perhaps two theories to be made respecting it, and each to be abandoned before the church was understood; but not having yet arrived at the stage of making his first theory with regard to it, he declined to say anything. He pointed out, however, one or two of the more striking features, remarking that it looked as though there was originally a cross church with large transepts, and very much narrower than it was at present. Among the objects of interest in the church are tombs of the D'Arcy family with recumbent figures, one having the arms of D'Arcy impaled with Rich, and the other the arms of D'Arcy impaled with De Vere; also a handsome mural tablet to the

memory of the fourth Earl Rochford and his wife, whose hatchments remain on the opposite wall. The oval plan of the altar-rail was exceedingly interesting, as showing the post Reformation arrangement with the table in the centre. The march of church restoration having abolished most of the examples of this kind in the kingdom, it is much to be desired that this peculiarity at St. Osyth's may be suffered to remain. The Priory, entered by a highly beautiful gateway built in chequered work of alternately squared stones and rubble pointed with small flints, is principally of a late Perpendicular period with certain portions of late Norman work. Unfortunately no plan of the Priory exists, and Mr. Parker was only able to make some general remarks, pointing out more particularly the twelfth century tower with its vaulted substructure, a crypt of the middle of the thirteenth century, and much work of the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., at which period it was evidently the intention to re-construct the entire establishment. Within the house, built in part from the ruins of the Priory, the visitors were sumptuously entertained by Sir John and Lady Johnson, in a noble hall, replete with oriental china and other works of art and antiquity. Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, in expressing the pleasure and gratification that the members of the Institute had derived from their visit to St. Osyth's, thanked Sir John and Lady Johnson most cordially for their splendid hospitality. The health of the kind host and hostess were then drunk, and Sir John Johnson having responded, the principal apartments of the mansion were carefully inspected. A large collection of oriental china, portraits, pictures, and other objects of art and antiquity were here to be seen, and excited considerable interest. Among these may be mentioned a splendid example of Carl du Jardin, some fine royal portraits by Ramsey, formerly the property of the fourth Earl of Rochford, and some good portraits of the Dutch School in the Winter Drawing Room. A reluctant leave was taken about 4 P.M., and Colchester was again reached about 6.30.

In the evening the MAYOR and MAYORESS (Mr. and Mrs. Papillon), received the Institute and a large number of friends at a *Conversazione* in the Town Hall, which was most elegantly fitted up for the occasion. Mr. FREEMAN made some general remarks upon Copford Church, and urged the members to examine Colchester most carefully in the perambulation on the following Monday. Some excellent music was subsequently given, and this agreeable reunion ended soon after eleven o'clock.

On Sunday the LORD BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE preached to a very large congregation, in the newly-restored church of St. Nicholas, taking for his text Eccles. i. 4 :—"One generation passeth away and another generation cometh : but the earth abideth for ever."

Monday, August 7th.

The historical section met for the third time in the Sessions Court, at 10 A.M., when Mr. CLEMENT MARKHAM, C.B., read a paper "On the Siege of Colchester," before a large audience. At the conclusion of this bold, firm, and eloquent defence of Fairfax (which will be printed in a future number of the "Journal"), Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE asked the important question whether there was a copy of the finding of the

court-martial, by which Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were condemned to death. It appeared that of this court-martial nothing was known except the report of the finding itself, and this does not state that the condemned men had forfeited their parole.

Mr. J. PIGGOT, who had warmly espoused the cause of the Royalists, endeavoured to show the injustice of the court-martial, quoting extracts from contemporary papers, and among them the following letter, from Sir Charles Lucas to Lord Fairfax, dated Colchester, July 19th, 1648:—

“In your letter sent by your trumpeter to my Lord Capel, and another from your Lordship to myself, you make exception to him concerning me, as being a prisoner still unto your Lordship. Sir, I wonder that you should question me of any such engagement, since I purchased my freedom and estate at a high rate by a sum of money, which I paid unto Goldsmiths’ Hall, for which, according to the ordinance of the two Houses, I was to enjoy my freedom and estate. When I conceived myself in this condition, I sent a letter to your Secretary, desiring him to advertise your Lordship that I had punctually performed my engagements as they stood in relation to your Lordship. Upon which I had notice from him that you accepted of my respects to you, which truly have never been wanting to your person. But, my Lord, besides my inclination and duty to the service I am in at present, be pleased to examine whether the law of nature hath not instigated me to take my sword again into my hand, for when I was in peaceable manner in London, there was a price set upon me by the Committee of Derby House, upon which I was constrained to retire myself into my own country and to my native town for refuge, where, my Lord, I do remain, not your prisoner, but your Lordship’s very humble servant,

“CHARLES LUCAS.”

Mr. Piggot, however, rather spoilt his case by the warmth of his language, and considerably exceeded the conventionalities of debate. Some interesting particulars were given concerning the harsh treatment of the Royalist soldiers in the town after the siege, and in the discussion which followed,

Mr. MARKHAM contended that Lucas, in his own letter, distinctly acknowledged that he had broken his parole, and he offered some excuse for it which had nothing whatever to do with the military offence. There was no doubt he had broken his parole, and being found in arms, and not having been exchanged—this was never suggested—it was quite sufficient then, as now, to justify the sentence of death. As to Lisle, it was equally clear, and there was not the shadow of a doubt left upon the point. It was to be regretted that the finding of the court-martial was not a little more explicit.

In the vote of thanks which followed, the Bishop complimented Mr. Markham upon the fair and impartial manner in which he had treated this difficult and critical subject.

The Rev. C. R. MANNING then read an interesting paper on “The Monuments of the De Burgh and Ingoldsthorpe Families in Burgh Green Church, Cambridgeshire,” which will shortly appear in the pages of the “Journal.”

Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) read a paper on “Variations in the Petre Arms,” which is printed at p. 335.

Mr. WALDENE now endeavoured to throw some light on carvings at Bures, and recently discovered at Ipswich, which he had no doubt illustrated the very marvellous story which has been recorded in French and English, yelegt, "Havelok the Dane," the rhyme (long missing) having been discovered in the Bodleian Library in 1828, and was the oldest French composition, save those of a religious character. It also existed in English, and formed one of the most popular stories, written simply for the people, during the Middle Ages. It was the story of Grim (whence Grimsby takes its name) as seen by the corporation seal. This Grim had three sons Robert, the Red, Duraven or black, and William Wendu-Grey, i. e. black and white. To this story, Mr. Waldene said, he had a prototype in a pre-Christian one, current on the north-west of Scotland which agrees with the French in making the princess of England his wife, and as the Highlanders are very particular in receiving the traditions of the outer Hebrides, it may be viewed as genuine, and instead of men they are horses, red, black, and grey. The father of these was Grim, by some said to be the founder of Grimsby, but this story is more vigorous than the French, there appearing in the lines of the poem a shining cross, similar to that in the time of Constantine, stamping it as a beautiful Christian story. The sculpture at Bures reveals a rose and an equestrian figure, the hero being represented in a degraded position, and "Havelok" is drawn as the son of the King of England. Animals are particularly marked in the sculpture at Ipswich—and they are prominent in this story—and the sculpture possibly dates in the fifteenth century.

A somewhat lively discussion having ensued upon this subject, Mr. STOKES called attention to the fact of the existence in the low-lying marshes fringing the Colne and Blackwater, of a series of remarkable mounds, which had apparently hitherto escaped the notice of archaeologists. They belonged to that very interesting period, of which so few traces now remained to us, prior to the commencement of authentic history, and of which so little was known that we could no longer afford to dispense with the evidence they could furnish us, if scientifically examined. They reached for miles, and were of varying width. The portions he had examined were from 100 to 200 yards wide, and about four feet thick. They were composed almost exclusively of burnt red earth, mixed very abundantly with fragments of a coarse kind of pottery, or earthenware, of an extremely rude type, and contained quantities of ashes and charred bones. As a rule, they were situated just above the level of high water, although in some cases he had been informed they were to be found at lower levels, and were to be seen only where the sand had been removed. No satisfactory reason for their formation had as yet been assigned, and he hoped that ere long some of those competent to form an opinion concerning their origin and use would visit them to establish their identity.

The importance of this communication having been spoken of by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, the BISHOP of ROCHESTER cordially thanked Mr. FREEMAN, in the name of the Meeting, for his able and dignified conduct in the chair, and the Meeting was dissolved, having lasted three hours.

In the afternoon a second perambulation was made through the eastern portion of the town. Arrived at the castle, Mr. PARKER gave a description of the building. He said it was most distinctly and unques-

tionably a Norman castle, built at the end of the eleventh century, but as was usual at the period, in a plain and substantial manner. The ornamentation and the grand Norman gateway were added fifty years later. There was not a vestige of Roman work about the building, except the materials of which it was composed, and which were doubtless the ruins of the Roman walls of the town, and utilised in consequence of their being near to hand. Allowing for the provinces being later than the capital, he considered that the town walls were built in the time of Constantine, or even later than that. There were cellars or substructures beneath the castle, common to all mediæval buildings. The castle was not a keep, but a large Norman fortress, intended to assist a small garrison, and to overawe a large and discontented populace, besides keeping watch over the river Colne. In the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, the Roman *Cloaca* of the third century, proceeding from the castle to the river, and passing under the remains of a postern gate, was examined. Following the line of the Roman wall, St. Botolph's Priory was reached. At this place, the largest example of the re-use of Roman materials, except St. Alban's Abbey, in the kingdom, Mr. FREEMAN gave a learned discourse. He pointed out that although Colchester possessed thirteen churches in the Norman period, there were no large ecclesiastical buildings within the walls, the Abbey of St. John's and St. Botolph's Priory, or the Church of the Austin Canons, being both outside the walls. The Priory of St. Botolph's was a remarkable instance of the use made of Roman materials for building, and these materials were used for the ornamental part, as might be seen on the west front. It was probably built by Ernulf, before the time of Henry I., for there was a charter granted to the then existing Priory in that reign. It was evidently utilised as the Church of the Austin Canons and as the parish church as well, a solid screen of brick dividing the two at a subsequent period; and up to the time of the siege was used altogether as the parish church, but at that unhappy season it was most unfortunately situated, being between the fires of the besiegers and the besieged, and was then reduced to the state in which it now appears. The western part of the building was of a much later date in the Norman style than the rest, and there were upon it the remains of two fine arcades, and the splendid Norman gateway. Arrived inside the walls, Mr. FREEMAN said the original building consisted of a nave, a central tower, a transept, and a choir, with probably an eastern limb and an apse; but they could only guess what the building may have been at the Dissolution. He also remarked upon the massive round piers which supported the Nave, and which, he was understood to say, distinctly marked the structure as Norman. Mr. PARKER made a few remarks upon the character of the bricks employed in the Priory, which he said were of several different periods, the greater part being of the fourth century but some of them of an earlier date. The perambulation was then continued through St. Botolph Street and Mersea Road, following the Abbey wall, at the south-east corner of which Mr. PARKER pointed out some bricks of the first century, less than an inch thick—the smallest he had ever seen. He observed that a rumour had reached him of the wish of the majority of the Town Council to pull down this portion of the wall, in order to broaden the road, and made an earnest appeal for its preservation.

The Gateway of the Abbey of St. John was next visited. This building, the sole remnant of the establishment, had been partially and fairly well restored. The Abbey was built, Mr. PARKER said, in the reign of Henry II., and the material used was mainly Roman brick from the town walls.

At the Church of St. Giles, the burying-place of the Lucas family, was the famous slab of black marble, which tradition states was placed over the bodies, after the Restoration of Charles II., at the expense of Lord Lucas, brother to Sir Charles with the following inscription thereon, cut in letters deep and large :—

V N D E R    T H I S  
M A R B L E    L Y    T H E  
B O D I E S    O F    T H E  
T W O    M O S T    V A L I  
A N T    C A P T A I N S  
S    C H A R L E S  
L U C A S    A N D    S     
G E O R G E    L I S L E  
K N I G H T S    W H O  
F O R    T H E I R    E M I  
N E N T    L O Y A L T Y  
T O    T H E I R    S O V E  
R A I N    W E R E    O N  
T H E 28<sup>th</sup>    D A Y    O F    A V  
G V S T 1648    B Y    T H E  
C O M M A N D    O F    S     
T H O M A S    F A I R  
F A X    T H E N    G E N E  
R A L    O F    T H E    P A R  
L I A M E N T    A R M Y    I N  
C O L D    B L O V D    B A R B A  
R O V S L Y    M V R D E R D .

The perambulation concluded with a visit to East Hill House, where the members were hospitably received by Mrs. George Round, and an inspection made of the fine restored Church of St. James.

In the evening a second *Conversazione* took place in the Castle, when a charming paper, "On Early Greek Christian Romances," was read by the Rev. S. BABING-GOULD.

#### Tuesday, August 8th.

The Architectural Section met for the second time in the Town Hall at 10 P.M., under the presidency of Lord CARLINGFORD. In the absence of Mr. B. H. COWPER, his paper "On Ancient Earthworks in Epping Forest" was read by Mr. BURTT. (It is printed at p. 244). The HONORARY SECRETARY also read a paper by Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN, "On the Roman Inscriptions of Colchester," which will be printed in the "Journal." In the discussion which followed, with regard to the extreme desirability of grants from Government for the preservation of ancient monuments, it was elicited, that while there are official inspectors of ancient monuments both in France and Germany, there are no funds set apart in either case for the proper preservation of objects of

archæological interest. Mr. PARKER gave an instance where an appeal from himself, through the Princess Royal, to the King of Prussia, a few years ago, had the effect of saving from demolition a most interesting church in Soest, of the eleventh century ; but it was not public money, but the private donation of the King that saved the church.

The Rev. BARTON LODGE contributed an interesting paper "On Leper Hospitals," showing that in the thirteenth century there were no less than 19,000 leper hospitals in Europe. There were nine in Essex and two in Colchester, one of which was at St. Mary Magdalene. This paper led to a discussion about "leper windows," or low side windows so usually found on the south side of chancels. Mr. PARKER stated that the term "leper window" is at least as old as the time of Edward VI., when injunctions were issued ordering all "leper windows" to be walled up. There is a good paper on Low Side Windows in vol. iv., p. 314, of the "Journal," and it would seem that their real use has not yet been clearly made out. Mr. LODGE also contributed the following "Notes" upon Colchester :—

"That there was a *British* town on the site of the present Colchester before the Roman period admits of little doubt. Julius Cæsar tells us what a *British* town was : a wood in which large numbers of persons could assemble, with the approaches guarded against the incursions of enemies. Such a town would not, after the lapse of centuries, leave many remains to exercise the ingenuity of antiquaries. But we have further, in confirmation of our hypothesis, British coins discovered in this locality ; though Cæsar does not seem to have been aware that the Britons coined money ; and perhaps those referred to, bearing impress of the name of the British King, Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, were the earliest instances of the kind, and they were struck *after* Cæsar's invasion. If, moreover, as is most probable, Colchester is the ancient *Camulodunum*, and if Baxter is correct in his etymology of the word, the town had a British name which the Roman conquerors adopted with but very slight alteration.

"The evidences of *Roman* occupation are much more numerous and convincing. They consist not only of an immense number of coins and medals, from time to time brought to light representing all the emperors to the time of the departure of the Romans from Britain, and of cinerary urns, and all the various accompaniments of Roman burial, but also undoubted materials of Roman building, and several fine specimens of tessellated pavements. In *Camulodunum* it is a well-attested fact that there was a temple erected to the Emperor Claudius, and that the same was demolished by the infuriated hosts of the British Queen, Boadicea, and in all probability re-erected after her defeat ; but whether any part of it survives in the structure of the present castle, and whether the materials of it have been worked up in the various ancient buildings in which Roman tiles are so conspicuous to this day—these are questions which the prejudices or prepossessions of different persons will decide for themselves in different ways. The town walls, which can still be traced in their entire circuit, and large portions of which actually remain, present in their general features and mode of construction strong claims to a Roman origin, though there appears no such decisive record of the employment of the Legionaries upon them as is afforded by the walls of York.



"As Colchester was the seat of a colony of Roman veterans, it can excite no surprise that, upon the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, it lost much of its former renown. The *Saxon* invaders seem to have taken almost undisputed possession of it, changed the name of the place to Coln-ceaster, and established in it their own laws and institutions; but History takes but little notice of their proceedings here until the *Danes* commenced a determined and sanguinary contest with them for possession. In the days of the Great Alfred, notwithstanding occasional defeats, the Danes were able to maintain themselves as masters of Colchester, but were driven out with great slaughter, after having been closely besieged by his son Edward the Elder.

"At the time of the Domesday Survey Colchester had again become a place of considerable importance, as appears from the return of the houses, the number of its burgesses, and the wealth of its landholders. It is worthy of remark that there is no mention of the Castle in that record, whatever that silence may indicate.

"In the troublous times of King John and his successor, the town was again besieged more than once, and for a time the banner of France floated insolently over the walls of the castle; but the ignominy was speedily removed by the indignant spirit of the nation.

"But its most memorable siege was that of 1648, when, in the Civil War, the Royal forces, under Lord Goring, Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle and others, gallantly but unsuccessfully resisted the Parliamentary troops under Fairfax.

"Records of the *Pre-Norman* period are the Tower of Trinity Church, several Saxon ornaments and implements of war found in the town and neighbourhood, and probably some part of the castle walls. The best specimens of late *Norman* work are the magnificent ruins of St. Botolph's Priory and the grand entrance to the castle."

The General Concluding Meeting was held in the Town Hall at noon, under the presidency of Lord CARLINGFORD, supported by Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Mayor, the High Steward, Mr. Freeman and most of the members of the Corporation and of the Institute who had taken part in the proceedings of the congress. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor and Corporation, and to Mr. James Round, M.P.: for the use of the Town Hall and of the castle, which was seconded by Mr. Parker, Lord Talbot de Malahide also expressing the great gratification that the Institute had experienced from their reception, to which the Mayor replied. In acknowledging the vote of thanks to himself and other contributors of addresses and memoirs, Mr. FREEMAN spoke in high terms of the extreme interest of the town, and of the pleasant recollections of their visit, which would be carried away by the members of the Institute. With reference to the hospitality that had been accorded to the members, Colonel Pinney moved, and the Rev. Prebendary Scarth seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. L. A. Majendie, M.P., Sir John Johnson, Colonel Marsden, and Mr. Carwardine. Votes of thanks to the High Steward and to the Local Honorary Secretaries, the Rev. Barton Lodge, the Rev. C. L. Acland, and Mr. G. Gard Pye, for the successful manner in which they had carried out their arduous duties were then passed; and a very happy speech by the noble Chairman brought the Colchester Congress to a close.

## Visit to Horkesley Hall and Felix Hall.

In the afternoon many members of the Institute accepted the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. BOURDILLON to a garden party at Great Horkesley Hall, where upwards of two hundred of the élite of the county assembled. Here the church, charmingly situated among the trees, was the great object of attraction. This interesting building, which as yet remains unrestored, was founded by William Swynborne, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and is replete with objects of archaeological interest—including much remains of painted glass, a late fourteenth century lectern of wood, some superb brasses, and three wooden effigies. Upon a high tomb of Sussex marble are the magnificent brasses, with canopies, of Robert Swynborne, who died in 1391, and that of his eldest son Thomas, who was much employed in the wars in France, and was Mayor of Bordeaux and Constable of the Castle of Fronsac in Guienne. He died in 1412.

The wooden effigies, which lie in a neglected and perishing state at the west end of the church, are of the time of Edward I. and II., and probably represent William and Emma de Horkesley and their nephew and heir, Robert de Ros. Mr. HARTSHORNE made some observations upon the costume of these figures, remarking that effigies in oak usually belong to this particular period, and are generally very good examples of art in a material not easy to work. Another and a smaller party went, on the invitation of Sir Thomas Western, to Felix Hall, to see his Greek and Roman antiquities, and a number of pictures by Vandyke and other old masters.

## The Museum.

This was formed under the superintendence of the Honorary Curators, the Rev. Barton Lodge, the Rev. C. L. Acland and Mr. George Joslin, in the Library of the Castle, and great praise is due to those gentlemen for bringing together so interesting a collection, and for the care which they bestowed upon its admirable arrangement.

The collection was classified as far as practicable, and divided into six "periods"—the Pre-historic, the Early British, the Greek, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Mediæval, all of which are very fairly and some extremely well represented; while the remaining portion of the collection was made up of specimens of ancient needlework, tapestry, portraits and pictures, jewellery and plate, books and manuscripts, and many fine water-colour drawings. Of the Pre-historic Period the objects shown were gathered from countries far away from our own shores, and appeared to be arranged with a view to illustrate the affinity in this respect among people separated by many thousands of miles, and possessed of but small means of communication. The "Early British Period," on the other hand, had a very fine collection of spear-heads, sword-blades, and points; of the "Greek period," though hardly so well represented, the most striking objects were two very fine vases, lent by Lord Talbot de Malahide, who also contributed in this division an Egyptian mirror; and a Greek speculum, or mirror, was shown by Mr. Ready. The "Roman period," as might be supposed, had some excellent examples. Pottery and glass, of course, abounded, there being some especially fine specimens of glass, principally the product of Col-

chester excavations, as well as a small but beautifully draped bronze figure. Of the "Anglo-Saxon period" was a fine fibula, and other objects found in Colchester among other remains of the same time. In the Mediæval department the most interesting examples were some fragments of figure carvings in alabaster, found in the walls of Langham Church, Essex, in 1863; a very fine reliquary; a chalice, a covered cup in pewter, and a bronze thurible, lent by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould; a brass-bound jewel box, of the fifteenth century; a fine collection of keys, lent by the Essex Museum, including the key of the room in which Anne Boleyn was confined at New Hall, Boreham; part of a carved ivory diptych; the steel belt which fastened Cranmer to the stake in 1556, exhibited by Mr. J. Piggot; a covered cup by Briot; and a copy of the *Colchester Weekly Journal* for May 15-22, 1736. Some magnificent examples of needlework and embroidery were exhibited by Mr. P. O. Papillon, Mr. G. H. Errington, and others, the christening-mantle shown by Mr. Errington being that of Henry VIII. Mrs. Duffield sent some fine needlework samplers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Rev. H. L. Maud, of Assington, a very beautiful Sèvres cup and saucer. Of china there was a fine collection of Bow, Lowestoft, and Chelsea ware, exhibited principally by Mrs. Boby, Mrs. Ram, and Mr. J. Piggot. In the case devoted to plate Mrs. Charles Round exhibited a very fine toilet service of silver of the latter part of the seventeenth century, and nearly as good as that, the property of Captain Berners, exhibited in London three years ago. Mrs. Sayers Turner sent a very curious set of silver belonging to a doll's house, once the property of the Hugessen and Oughten families. There were also specimens of "ladies' companions," and chatelaines in gold and silver, of magnificent workmanship; a very fine German tankard and a little silver candlestick, said to have been used by Queen Anne, and the property of Mr. John Evans, of Derby. The Rev. D. M. Owen, of Marks Tey, had a magnificent collection in this division, including beautiful specimens of Norwegian, Dutch, Lapland, English Apostle, and other spoons; a very fine specimen of a Dutch work, "Moll Thompson," or double-swinging cup, used, it is said, at drinking bouts, in days of old, to illustrate, to the boisterous amusement of the company round the board, the impotence of a half-drunken man; and a very rich "peg tankard," of Norwegian work.

On a table near the grand fire-place of the library were shown a valuable collection of medals, coins, old jewellery, miniatures, &c. These last include some superb works of art by Smyth, and placed beside them is a splendid miniature of "Queen Elizabeth on the Terrace at Hatfield Peverel," lent by Mr. Errington. A gold ring, with the figure of the Holy Trinity upon it, was contributed by the Rev. T. R. Musselwhite; while the Mayor showed a beautifully carved ivory figure of a Roman Gladiator. Lord Talbot de Malahide had here a beautiful fragment of Greek glass, a representation of the head of Medusa. A case of medals contained some of very high merit, including some of extremely rare character, as, for instance, a gold medal of Oliver Cromwell (by T. Simon), which is probably unique. The Rev. J. Beck also exhibited here four cases of personal ornaments, of all descriptions and various ages, from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other countries, including belts, brooches, fibulæ, clasps and spoons, in gold and silver. Mr. Beck also sent some medals and coins, and among

them one of Simon's proofs of Oliver Cromwell, a curious Runic calendar, and some fine miniatures, including one of Charles I.

The Rev. C. Babington exhibited a very good collection of bronze medals, Papal and Regal.

The case appropriated to MSS. and books contained the original foundational charters of the Colchester and Dedham Grammar Schools, a MSS. Service Book, found in the wall of All Saints' Church, Springfield, and contributed by the Rev. A. Pearson; the Colchester Corporation Court Roll and Charter of Queen Elizabeth, and the Corporation Charter of Edward III., reciting the Charters of Richard I. and Henry III. not now in existence, were also lent by the Mayor and Corporation. A splendid collection of deeds of an early period, including several of the twelfth century, and some letters bearing the autographs of Oliver Cromwell, the Earl of Essex, and many other distinguished characters in English History, were lent by Mr. G. A. Lowndes. Canon Marsden of Great Oakley also contributed to this department a letter from Oliver Cromwell to John Gurdon, Esq.; the Exchequer Warrant stamped with the monogram of Henry VIII., and letters patent of Charles II., discharging Thomas D'Arcy of Cleer's Hall, St. Osyth, from a sum of 1,905*l.*, to be paid for the dignity of a baronetcy.

Over the doorway were suspended the banner, sword and helmet of Sir Charles Lucas, lent by Mr. James Round, M.P.; and close by was "the Colchester Bushel," in bronze, dated 1670, and exhibited by Mr. F. Smythies.

The Corporation of Colchester exhibit their Regalia, including the very handsome and massive silver-gilt mace, said to be, with one exception, the largest and finest in England; a small silver oar indicative of their water jurisdiction, and the silver model of the minimum oyster that is allowed to be publicly sold. The matrices of the Borough and Mayor's seals were in the same case with the Dedham Grammar School seal, the Archdeaconry of Colchester seal, &c. Among the books were a Nuremburg Chronicle, 1493, some early editions of Shakespeare, Luther's Bible, the Colchester Oath Book, the original Registers of the Colchester and Dedham Grammar Schools, thirty-three volumes of early printed books, together with a scrap-book of Colchester and Essex Views, containing sketches of the romanesque Moot Hall, now most unfortunately demolished, exhibited by Miss Stokes of Cheltenham.

Of pictures there was a good display, including portraits of Sir William Petre, died 1571; Lord Fairfax, Sir Edmund Affleck, M.P. for the town in 1781; John Ray, the Naturalist (1627), who first reduced botany to a system, and the Rev. J. Twining, Translator of Aristotle and Rector of St. Mary-at-the-Wall, where Morant, the country historian, lived so long. "The Penitent," by Jacobo Bassano, exhibited by Mr. J. Piggot; "Views of Colchester by Moonlight," by H. Pether, and a capital Suffolk View by Constable. Mr. Parish exhibited illustrations of the Copford Paintings, and there were some copies of very curious frescoes from Stonham Church, lent by Mr. J. Piggot. Among the examples of tapestry shown was a screen worked by Rachel Lady Russell, the property of the High Steward of Colchester.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Colchester Meeting and of the general purposes of the Institute:—

Lord Carlingford, 30*l.*; G. H. Errington, 12*l.* 10*s.*; Colonel Lear-

mouth, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; H. B. Praed, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Messrs. Mills, Errington & Co., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Messrs. Round, Green & Co., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Commander Kelso, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Miss Fowke, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Sir T. Western, Bt., 5*l.* ; Mrs. George Round, 5*l.* ; J. W. Perry-Wallington, 5*l.* ; A. J. Lovibonde, 4*l.* 4*s.* ; Archdeacon Ady, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Rev. S. S. Greathead, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; G. A. Lowndes, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Canon Marsden, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; J. M. Nichols, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Rev. J. H. Newman, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; T. Bourdillon, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Archdeacon Mildmay, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Osgood Hanbury, 3*l.* ; J. J. Tufnell, 3*l.* ; P. O. Papillon, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. H. L. Elliot, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. C. L. Acland, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. R. Vaisey, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. Hurnard, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. Round, M.P., 2*l.* 2*l.* ; Lieut.-Col. Marsden, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. Y. Watson, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; C. R. Bree, M.D., 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. J. T. Lermite, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. F. O. Callaghan, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Captain Brett, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. Inglis, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Mrs. Inglis, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; the Bishop of Rochester, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. H. Caddell, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; A. S. Osborne, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. B. Lodge, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. J. M. Chapman, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. F. Curtis, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. R. B. Mayor, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. C. G. Townsend, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; F. Smithies, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; H. W. King, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. C. Bannatyne, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. S. R. Manning, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Colonel Hawkins, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Mrs. Hawkins, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. P. A. Wood, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. W. G. Tucker, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. S. Barnes, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; T. Simpson, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Messrs. Lay & Wheeler, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. N. Walsh, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; N. F. Cobbold, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. Paxman, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; E. Marriage, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; G. Ager, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. E. R. Horwood, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. W. Lay, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. Cardinall, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; A. L. Laing, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. J. W. Perry, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Mrs. Duffield, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. Parish, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Dr. Raven, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. G. Sadd (Mayor of Maldon), 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. Mothersole, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. J. Papillon, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; A. Welsh, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; W. M. Tufnell, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. F. Watson, 1*l.* ; Rev. J. W. Irvine, 1*l.* ; Rev. T. R. Musselwhite, 1*l.* ; Mrs. A. H. Pattison, 1*l.* ; Rev. J. R. Corbett, 1*l.* ; Rev. T. O. Reay, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; J. J. Bedwell, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; G. F. Beaumont, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; J. B. Harrington, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; G. E. Attwood, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; F. A. Cole, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; Rev. W. W. Godden, 10*s.* ; D. Bantree, 10*s.* ; Rev. G. C. Berkeley, 5*s.*

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

NOTES ON IRISH ARCHITECTURE. BY EDWIN, THIRD EARL OF DUNRAVEN.  
Edited by MARGARET STOKES. 2 vols. 4to. 1875-7.

THERE was a time, and that not long since, when the announcement of a work upon Irish Architecture, with a large section of its contents treating of Irish round towers, would have scared effectually and most justly every one who was not prepared to accept wild assertions for proven facts, and mere windy boasting for calm and acute criticism. But the school of Betham, Vallancey, and O'Brien is now closed. Irish antiquities are now studied in a different spirit and after a different method. The Celtic Pegasus has been broken-in, and is beginning to run well in harness. Fifty years ago, such a book as that which we have to introduce to our readers was impossible. Now, though its dimensions and cost must ever confine its actual circulation to a small circle, we are much mistaken if its contents, in some shape, will not be widely considered, and, if accurate observation and logical deduction have their due weight, be generally accepted.

Under the unassuming title of "Notes," Lord Dunraven and his accomplished executrix, Miss Stokes, have put forth, not only a most elegant, but a most elaborate and valuable contribution towards the study of Irish architecture from its rude, though even then remarkable, beginnings, down to the period of the English invasion and settlement, after, and in consequence of which, it ceased to bear an exclusively Irish character.

Ireland is a rich field for those who desire to cultivate the study of the early growth of the art of construction. There and there alone in all Europe, are preserved, in an unbroken series, examples of native structures from the rudest to a comparatively polished period. The earliest efforts of the art are represented by a number of very primitive fortresses and sepulchral chambers, built, not without skill, in pagan times, before the use of cement, or masons' tools, or the arch, and associated in Irish legendary lore with the "Knights of the red branch" and others of those early heroes "who sleep on the crossways of fame," or with others, more fortunate, whose names and actions appear in that grey dawn of history in which truth and fiction, the proven and the unproven, are so intimately blended. To these works of defence, of early habitation, and of burial, succeeded oratories, cells, and monastic colleges, constructed after the arrival of the missionaries of the Gospel, but still without cement or very visible mark of the tool, and in which the flat-topped door with inclined sides is combined with an overhanging and pointed roof, a vault in form though not in construction, and in which the rectangular outline takes the place of the beehive hut or "cloghaun."

The use of the hammer, and perhaps of the chisel in Irish ecclesiastical architecture, seems to have preceded somewhat the employment of cement,

which was followed by the introduction of the regular or radiating arch, at first confined to the opening between nave and chancel, then first appearing as an eastern appendage. It was long before the arch was applied to the doorway of these buildings, which remained flat-topped with inclined sides, much in the Egyptian manner, and was always placed in the west wall. For some time the roof continued to be formed of overhanging slabs, but above it, constructed in a similar manner, was an exterior covering, high pitched to throw off the rain, and between the two, to lighten the weight, a cavity, which afterwards became an inhabited chamber. The earliest window was a mere eastern loop, at first flat-topped, then covered by a full-centred head, scooped out of a single stone, and then by two inclined stones, forming a sort of lancet, to which was occasionally added a third, being a sort of approximation to an arch. The earlier Christian buildings, though rectangular, resembled the cloghauna, in presenting, outside, no distinction between the wall and the roof; but in those succeeding, the walls were vertical and only the roof inclined. With the more advanced of these churches are found associated the earliest circular belfries, sometimes rising out of the western end of the church, but more frequently detached from it by some yards.

The steps onward from these most primitive churches were marked and rapid. The doorways, even where they continued to be flat-topped, had a bold roll or bead moulding, repeated twice or thrice, and sometimes were placed below a full-centred and ornate arch of construction. The chevron and a pellet pattern followed, with interlaced knots, flanking shafts were placed in the chancel arch, and the covering became a regular geometrical vault, as did the upper or exterior roof. It is curious that amidst all the invasions and convulsions by which the political system of Ireland has been shaken, from its earliest times, there should still remain so many "monuments belonging to the period between the ninth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, so untouched by the hand either of the restorer or the destroyer, that in them we may trace the gradual development from an early and rude beginning to a very beautiful result; the dove-tailing, as it were, of one style into another, till an Irish form of Romanesque architecture grew into perfection."

The nations of Europe were influenced in very different degrees by the conquests and colonizations of the Roman empire. Some, as the provinces of Iberia and Southern Gaul, received their civilization direct from the source, and retained and continued it after that source was violated and destroyed. In others, as Northern Gaul and the confines of Germany, more remote from Rome, and nearer to forces of an opposite and counteracting character, the effects were produced in a less marked degree; and in others again, as the British isles, still more remote and still more imperfectly colonized, the civilization, never very considerable—never taking root as an indigenous plant—languished on the withdrawal of the Legions, and was utterly rooted out and swept away by the repeated invasions of the fierce pagan mariners from the Baltic.

In Scandinavia, where the Roman eagles never flew, the indirect influence of Rome was very slight. The genius of those sons of the sea was essentially opposed to that of Rome. Their structures, mostly of timber; their decorative arts; their early runes and rhymes, were in no degree derived from Rome, and contained the germ of an internal and perfectly independent force; nor was it until the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries that Sweden and Norway adopted the arch in masonry, and accepted the full influence of the Romanesque style. In Celtic Ireland, also unvisited by Roman arms, the germs of an equally original civilization were of a more advanced and far kindlier character, and the material remains, even of her pagan age, are far superior to those of præhistoric Britain. This is true even of her earliest encampments; and their masonry, though without cement, and innocent of the tool, bears yet much of an architectural character. There is in them architecture, though it be only what Miss Stokes has happily called "the architecture of necessity." Nor was the pre-eminence of Ireland confined to her early structures. With her, letters, in the form of Oghams, seem to have preceded somewhat the advent of the missionaries, and were used to express the native Irish tongue. Oghams, one at least, bilingual, in Irish and Latin, are found upon a cromlech in Kerry, and on the roofing stones of an early addition to the treasury of the Amazonian Queen Maeve, in Roscommon, in such a position as to show that both stones and inscription were removed from a more ancient building. Probably as early as the fourth century these Oghams began to be used to express the Latin language, and indeed to give way to the use of Roman letters. Moreover, there was a very early literature, composed of historic legends, of lives of the Saints, and of the records of the Annalists. The art of illumination was introduced probably with Christianity, and was much followed; and there remain not a few fibulae, bracelets, chalices, crosiers, and jewels, both of a personal and ecclesiastical character, showing that the progress was not confined to one branch of art, and was such as, in some degree, to justify even the very high-flown terms in which it has been described, and was certainly very superior to anything of the sort produced at the corresponding period in Britain.

Of these varied and rich remains of the early civilization of this country, Lord Dunraven selected architecture, chiefly of an ecclesiastical character, as the study of his more mature life; and the results of his observations, and, in some degree, his conclusions deduced from them, are here presented and supplemented by his posthumous editor with no ordinary skill and industry. Lord Dunraven was a man of considerable and of remarkably versatile talents, and he had not only the advantage of an intimate knowledge of the architectural remains of his own country, but he had travelled much, had examined those of other lands, and was fully awake to the advantages of the comparative method of study. Moreover, he followed in the wake of and profited largely by the labours of his friend Petrie; and, what was also an immense advantage, he was able to avail himself of the aid of the photographer. Photography may or may not have been a safe handmaiden to the higher arts of design; but for the representation of buildings it is absolutely perfect, showing the nature of the materials, the details of the workmanship, and the slightest or most weather-worn trace of ornamentation or inscription with absolute and unerring accuracy.

General tradition has connected the early civilization of Ireland with the continent of Europe, not only by that gradual process by which the course of population worked its western way, but by some later and more direct channel with the Iberian peninsula, by which, no doubt, a certain proficiency in the arts may have been brought within the reach of a nation well fitted to foster and continue it. But however this may be,



whether from a foreign source or by purely national growth, certain it is that as early as the 6th and 7th, and probably the 4th and 5th centuries, Ireland was not only beyond Wales and Brittany or any other Celtic land in certain branches of art, but was also beyond her Scandinavian and, when Britain became England, her English neighbours; and was, in many respects, upon a par with those favoured nations who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean.

There are, however, some points presented by this early development, that make it difficult to regard it as wholly of domestic growth. Dun Aengus, indeed, and the forts of Aran and the west, no less than the sepulchral chambers, may well have been original. There is nothing in their mode of construction that might not have been devised by any nation emerging from pure barbarism, nor is there anything in the early Christian structures, that is in their mode of construction, that may not have grown naturally out of the Pagan forts and dwellings, but the rectangular plan, the entrance at the west-end, and the addition of an eastern chancel were necessarily foreign, and like the emblem of the cross, must have been introduced by the earliest missionaries, that is, by those who are generally believed to have preceded St. Patrick about the middle of the 4th century.

But what remains to be accounted for is the growth of the style of architecture known as Romanesque and of its successor, or supplement, known as Norman. It is clear that Ireland, as early as the 9th century, possessed, as did England in the 10th century, a style, in substance Romanesque, but marked with strong Irish peculiarities, and that a century and a half or two centuries later, probably during the few years of rest from the invasion of the Norsemen, which marked the reign of Brian Borumha, upon this Romanesque was imposed a style clearly akin to the Norman, though this also was of a strongly Irish character. Among the causes of these peculiarities are the position of their earliest monasteries exposed to a war of the elements that made luxury impossible, and suggestive of asceticism of the wildest and most severe character; also the very small dimensions of the churches, showing that they were meant more for the use of the priest than the people; the invariably rectangular plan, the western doorway with its flat top and its inclined sides, the overhanging stone roof, and a strong infusion of Celtic character in the ornamentation.

Much has been said and written upon the origin of that style of architecture which, though practised in England a short time before the Conquest, received so great an impulse from that event as now generally to bear the name of Norman. That it arose upon and out of the Romanesque, and with it derived its earliest and main features from Roman architecture in its most debased form can scarcely be doubted. The heavy squab pier, the round-headed arch springing from the pier, the flowered capital with its simple abacus, the barrel vault, and the occasional use of the herring-bone fashion of masonry, are obviously Roman; but whereas the Roman work was the last effort of a people never remarkable for taste or originality, those who rose upon their ruins were nations full of life and vigour, intensely original in all their arts and customs, and who, though they adopted the Roman type in their earliest architectural struggles, merely used it as a point of departure, and developed it into forms and enriched it with ornaments which had little

in common with Rome. What is also remarkable in Irish architecture is the tenacity of its adhesion to the entablature or horizontal feature, which belongs rather to Greek than to Roman art. Not only is the flat-topped doorway retained, long after the general use of the arch in other parts of the building, but when flanking shafts were introduced, they had not at first individual capitals, but were ranged under a sort of entablature or cornice, common to the whole. Whence, then, did Ireland derive the Romanesque element in her national architecture, and whence came its further development into such Norman as is seen in the church of St. Caimin at Iniscoultrie, and usually supposed to have been built by Brian Borumha, in 1008? Not certainly from England, nor from the Scandinavian Vikings who infested her western shores; for the style existed in Ireland a full century before it can be traced in England or in Norway. Not from the missionaries who implanted the seeds of Christianity, for the ornamentation in question was not then in use, and even in France and Languedoc the Romanesque was in its earliest infancy, and had received nothing of those forms, ornaments, and mouldings, which constitute the special character of Norman work. This is a question which has not as yet been solved in a conclusive manner, and of which though one half of the solution depends upon such a collection of facts as Petrie and Lord Dunraven and other Irish antiquarians have brought forward, the other, and at present more obscure half must be studied on the continent of Europe.

The Irish are also peculiar in that, being pure Celts, they adopted and brought to considerable perfection a style of architecture, also cultivated with success by races with whom they had little in common. The style, indeed, flourished in France, where was a large infusion of the Celtic "strain," but its chief development was in Normandy, where the Celtic element has no place, and in England, whence it had probably been extirpated long before any structure worthy to be called architectural had been called into existence. These questions, whence Ireland derived her version of the Romanesque style, and how she came to make it, and upon it its Norman development, so peculiarly her own, are full of interest, and largely connected with the history of Irish art and, indeed, of Christian architecture. One thing is evident, that Irish architecture in all its branches was essentially an ecclesiastical art, introduced in some degree by the earliest missionaries, and from first to last employed upon ecclesiastical objects. St. Patrick himself, a disciple of St. Martin of Tours, the founder of the earliest Gallican monastery, imprinted a strongly monastic character upon the Irish church, which it ever afterwards retained. This led to the construction of monastic colleges, and the practice was, no doubt, strengthened by the influence of St. Finnian of Clonard, "Tutor Sanctorum," the colleague and perhaps the predecessor of St. Patrick, who received his education at the feet of David, Gildas, and Cadoc or Cattwg, three great South Welsh Saints, and the promoters of similar monastic foundations in that country. From Wales, indeed, but little knowledge of architecture was then or since to be expected, that was probably brought by St. Patrick from the continent, and fostered and reinforced by similar influences from the same quarter. When, three centuries later, Fergal, from being Abbot of Aghadoe, was removed to Salzburg, it may be assumed that there was a free communication with the Continent, and that the love of science which led that

eminent man to teach the sphericity of the earth and the existence of Antipodes, and gained for him the title of "the Geometer," was not expended alone upon one branch of knowledge.

Lord Dunraven's book commences with a minute and lucid examination of about 24 early fortresses found upon the western islands and mainland of the country, and probably therefore thrown up as a defence against invaders from beyond the sea. These fortresses, though not all of one date, are all the work of one people in nearly the same state of civilization, and have certain points in common. The ring-walls or defences are mostly triple and concentric, and in outline either roughly circular or oval, and when upon a cliff or promontory, they form a part of those figures. The central enclosure was the citadel. The walls were from 12 to 18 feet thick and as high as 20 feet, laid without cement but with considerable skill, and sometimes built in "pans" or "parcs," that is, in lengths of 20 or 30 feet, as though one length was completed before a second was commenced. They were in three parts, two faces and a central core. The core is mere filling in, but the faces are formed of selected stones laid with care, more or less in courses, and, where long, placed transversely, as what are technically called "headers," so as to bond the parts of the wall together. There is a very fine example of this practice at the White Fort in Kerry, where the whole outer face of the wall is composed of long slender prismatic blocks, laid transversely, so that the wall has the aspect of a basalt dyke, where the prisms are disposed, as is usual, at right angles to the face. There are no marks of the tool, but in the Aran forts and some of the others, the limestone rock is fissured naturally into cubic masses, which have much the appearance of having been squared by art. Where this is not the case, and the fracture is less regular, the masonry is polygonal or Cyclopean. There is no mark of any tool, though it is probable that levers and bars, possibly of wood, were used to detach the stones in the quarry. There seem to have been parapets on the walls, and in some forts there are single and double open staircases placed against or within the inner face of the wall, to give access to its summit. At Staigue, for example, there are from 8 to 10 such staircases against the inner wall. The entrances are regular doorways with flat lintels, and sometimes with upright but inclined stones for jambs, and some have regular rebates for doors, not cut with a tool but formed by the adjustment of the stones. Now and then is found a perforated stone for the hinge, and in one of the latest, the door was hung from two such stones above, like the upper port-lid of a ship of war. But few of these fortresses are protected with ditches,—Staigue is quite the exception,—for which the hard bare rock was not favourable, but instead, the "glacis," for some distance beyond the outer wall, is studded thickly with stones set up on end, forming in fact "Chevaux de frise," so as to check a rush, and give time to pick off an assailant as he came up. The dwellings are regular stone beehives, circular, with domes formed of overhanging stones. They are known as "cloghauns." There are also occasional chambers or cells in the walls, possibly for storing grain, though at Staigue there are two of larger dimensions within the inner wall, oval in plan, 8 to 10 ft. long by 6 to 8 ft. broad and 6 ft. high, and domed in by overhanging slabs of stone.

Rude as these fortresses are, their doorways, regular walls, and stone huts give them something of an architectural character, and they are

much in advance of the British hill-camps in England, Wales, and Scotland, where, with one or two remarkable exceptions, the defences are banks of earth, or heaped-on stones, very rarely indeed showing any trace even of dry-walling, and the entrances are mere gaps in the defence, and the dwellings were pits in the earth covered in with poles and turf, like a wigwam. They are the works of mere savages, whereas those who constructed the Irish duns must have made some progress in the art of defence, either in Ireland, or before their arrival there.

In succession to the latest of these duns, but in style and detail closely linked to them, are the oratories, cells, or monastic colleges, also fortified, and thence called "Cashels," of which "Sceilig Mhichil," which crowns the summit of an almost inaccessible rock off the coast of Kerry, is a very remarkable example. These are also built without cement, and probably without the use of masons' tools, but the cells have a tendency to the rectangular form, with a door in the west end, and some of them have five or seven white pebbles inserted over the door in the form of a cross, a sufficient evidence that they are not earlier, and probably not much later, than the arrival of the Christian missionaries in the fourth century. As in the duns, the doors are flat-topped with inclined sides, and the roofs formed of overhanging stones, but the buildings, instead of being, as in the duns, a mere accommodation for the garrison, subordinate to the defences, are often so placed that it is evident the enceinte wall was added for their protection. At Sceilig Mhichil the cells are beehives, but at St. Senacha, which, if a little later, is still a very early example, though the beehives are still found, there is a small rectangular building, with walls 7 ft. thick, enclosing an area 14 ft. by 9 ft. At Inisglora, St. Brenda's oratory shows the same features; it is 12 ft. by 8 ft. 6 in., and the exterior face of the wall slopes inwards, and is undistinguished from the roof. At Maelscadair, in Kerry, of the same type, there is also no distinction between the wall and the roof, the whole structure resembling an overturned boat, "*Tecta quasi navium carinae sunt*;" but at Tempul Molaise, though the same in general character, there is a trace of cement, poured in as grout, and something like a rude exterior pilaster buttress. The doorway also seems to have contained a door turning upon a hinge of stone, and there is an east window with a round head scooped out of the solid. Tempul Gell, where the walls are 4 ft. 6 in. thick, and the contained area 14 ft. 4 in. by 10 ft. 4 in., has a west door and an east window.

The use of cement, at first as grout poured in from the top of the wall, and afterwards in beds between the courses of stone, seems to have been accompanied, if not preceded, by the use of masons' tools, and to have been followed by the employment of the geometrical or radiated arch. The oratories became churches, always rectangular, and from 10 ft. by 7 ft. to 20 ft., and even 30 ft., by 10 ft. or 12 ft. broad. The roof was still, as at Gallarus, formed of overhanging slabs, but inside they formed a pointed vault. At first, roof and wall were confounded, but by degrees the outer face of the latter became vertical, and the exterior roof was laid, to carry off the frequent rain, at a much higher pitch than the interior vault, leaving between the two, as at Fuars island, Killaloe, a cavity. Here, moreover, the lower vault is geometrical, while the upper is overhanging. Many of these small early churches have a still smaller eastern appendage, or chancel, and the earliest use of the radiated arch

is in the opening between them, though at first, as in the single instance of St. Kevins, at Glendalough, there was an overlapping or false arch. Long after the arch had become common in this position, the western entrance retained its flat top and inclined sides, but the windows, mere loops, were often round-headed, the head being a single stone. The application of the arch to the doorway was very gradual. The flat-topped form is combined with bold and reduplicated roll mouldings, and other ornamental appendages, and sometimes the door is placed beneath an arch of relief or of construction. The Celtic races have ever been remarkable for great redundancy of imagination, exhibited both in literature and the arts. Upon the walls of the dome-roofed sepulchres, probably their very earliest attempts at construction, are found delineations of leaves and animals and other forms drawn direct from nature, and displaying more freedom, more artistic genius, than the knots, interlacings, spirals and conventional figures, common in early Christian art. Most of their architectural ornaments are found in illuminations of the seventh century, and no doubt were thence copied in stone. At Maghera and Banagher are fine examples of doorways, very highly decorated. The use of the arch in vaulting was introduced but slowly. At St. Columba's House, at Kells, as at Fuars island, the old and the new methods are combined, the lower part of the roof being formed of stones overlapping, while the upper part is a regular vault.

The adhesion of the Irish to the rectangular ground plot for their churches is very remarkable, and makes it probable that their plans were derived from Rome before the conversion of the Basilicas into churches, these always being provided with an apse. In Italy, also, the circular plan was common, but it does not appear that Ireland ever contained a circular church.

But though Ireland did not adopt the circular form for her churches, she did so for their bell-towers, for which that country has become celebrated. These Irish round towers, or "Cloicthech," have been the theme of Irish antiquaries for a long time past, and the nonsense that has been written, and that rather recently, by some of these gentlemen brought the whole subject into most undeserved contempt. Petrie was the first writer who treated these towers in a sensible and reasonable manner, and his lead has been followed and improved upon in the present volumes, which contain a detailed account of such as exist, with the results of a minute and searching criticism. It appears that there are, or recently were, existing in Ireland about 118 of these structures; some tolerably perfect, others in more or less advanced stages of decay. Miss Stokes rests her conclusion concerning their age upon a comparison of their masonry with that of other buildings of known date; upon the use of iron in their doorways; upon their defensive character; the reference to them in historical records; and their analogy to certain towers at Ravenna, in France, Switzerland, and the Orkneys, of very similar type. From a consideration of these points she is of opinion that they were first introduced about the end of the ninth century. They vary in height from 70 ft. and 80 ft. to 120 ft., and at the base are 14 ft. to 16 ft. diameter, with walls 3 ft. to 4 ft. thick, tapering to the summit, which is closed by a conical capstone. They are all built with mortar, and, with one or two exceptions, the entrances are from 8 ft. to 13 ft. from the ground. They are of five or six storeys, usually with timber floors and small loop-

hole windows, those near the summit being commonly placed at the four points of the compass. They contain no staircases, and the floors were reached by ladders. They are usually placed a few yards to the westward of a church, and the door is always on that side. Miss Stokes divides them into four periods, according to their masonry, on the whole the safest test. In the earliest, as at Lusk and Clondalkin, the stones are rough, many of them mere boulders; there is no mark of the tool; they are fitted rudely to the curve, roughly coursed; the joints are very wide, and are packed with spawls and angular fragments of stone. The doors are flat-topped, with inclined sides.

In the towers of the second period, as at Iniscaltra, the stones are roughly dressed with the hammer to the curve, more regularly coursed, and the joints are not quite so wide, but spawls are freely used. The windows sometimes have a round head scooped out of the solid. With the third period, as at Devenish, is introduced the regular use of masons' tools; the stones are squared and fitted to the curve with considerable nicety; the courses are even and laid with care; the joints are finer, and the mortar better mixed. The doors are occasionally covered in with three or more stones forming a sort of arch, and bold roll-mouldings and pellets are introduced as ornaments.

In the fourth and final period, as at Timahoe, the masonry is regular ashlar, with rather open joints; the courses are laid with great care, with the large stones at the base; the doorways are regularly arched, and sometimes highly ornamented. The doors seem to have been made of iron, and double. It is clear that the churches to which these towers are appended are of considerably earlier foundation, and in one case, at Kilkenny, the tower is built upon some interments in an older Christian cemetery. It is thought that the earliest of these towers, now standing, was constructed between the times of Cormac O'Killen and Brian Borumha; that is, towards the latter half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century.

To this date, A.D. 964, have been attributed both the belfry and the nave of Tomgraney church in Clare. There the west door of the church is flat-topped, with inclined sides; but it bears the chevron and pellet ornaments of a very decided Norman character, and shows what is probably the earliest example of the introduction of that style. With reference to the towers, what is remarkable, even in the earliest, is their great height, and the boldness and elegance of the design. These qualities could not have been attained at once, and therefore it may be regarded as certain that these towers were devised and perfected elsewhere, either in Italy or France, and that the design was thence imported into Ireland. The Annals refer to a Cloicthech at Slane in Meath, as early as A.D. 950, and to Tomgraney in Clare, to Louth and to Ardmacha or Armagh in 966, 987, and 996; but there is no reason to suppose that these, either in height or proportions, were inferior to those of later date. It is thought that besides being used as belfries, they were erected as places of safety against the rapid raids of the Northmen. For a ready and safe protection of a few hours against any number of assailants they were not ill calculated, and they would contain the priest and the ornaments of the church, and probably the most aged of the congregation, until the neighbourhood could rise to their rescue. The Irish church had, indeed, from the first, great need of

defences. It was planted in the midst of pagans, inhabitants of the island, and after these were converted, it was exposed to the repeated invasions of the Norsemen from Iceland and Denmark, who first appeared towards the close of the eighth century, and continued through the ninth and tenth centuries a course of plundering and burning the churches, and putting the inhabitants to a cruel death.

The introduction and improvement in the construction of these towers was accompanied by a corresponding advance in the churches to which they belonged. Though still of small dimensions, they always maintained the rectangular plan, had their principal, and often their only door, at the west end, were dimly lighted by an east, and sometimes one or two lateral windows, had an arch, often highly enriched, between the nave and the chancel, and were covered in by tunnel or barrel vaults of radiated construction.

There is no feature in Irish architecture more peculiar or more to be remarked than the stone roofs which pervade both its Pagan and its Christian periods. Of course the circular form, the earliest, is the easiest to construct and the most durable. The step to the rectangular, or barrel form, though natural, was considerable, and it is curious to see how, incidentally, to gain height and to diminish the overhanging of each course, the vault, as at Gallarus, assumed the pointed form. Also, is to be noted the invention shown in the idea of a double roof, by which means the inner vault is lightened, and the outer one raised to a pitch suited to throw off the rain; and, finally, the very curious gradation by which the geometric vaulting was introduced. At St. Columba's the vault is composite, the outer part overhanging, the central radiated; at Fuars island, the inner and lower vault is radiated, and the upper overhanging; and, finally, in St. Cormac's chapel at Cashel, both roofs are radiated, and a very striking as well as very skilful covering is produced.

During the latter period of its purely national existence, Irish ecclesiastical architecture attained to a high pitch of perfection. Although the individual churches, and even the cathedrals, are always small, and, as in the earliest examples, they continue to be suited rather for the intercession of the priest than the devotions of the people, their details are well executed, and, as in the chapel of Cormac on the Rock of Cashel, represent designs of great excellence. But the details, though very decidedly Norman in their original and general type, always preserved a marked Irish character, and this was continued in the provinces for some time after the invasion of Strongbow, in the twelfth century, though eventually the Anglo-Norman, and following it the Early English, or pointed Style, were introduced, at least within the Pale. From that Period but few churches were built in Ireland, and those more of an English than an Irish character.

Lord Dunraven's work may be considered to have treated the subject of the ecclesiastical edifices of Ireland, as well as the pagan forts, in an exhaustive manner, and to it the work upon the sculptured stones and early inscriptions, now in progress under Miss Stokes, will prove a valuable appendage. Of late years, since the completion of the Ordnance Survey and the establishment of a National Museum, much has been done to elucidate the early arts of the country, its manufactures, its productions of personal ornaments and jewellery from Pagan to Christian times, and above all in the preservation of its rich series of

illuminated manuscripts; some of which, for delicacy of execution, equal even those of Italy, and far exceed the corresponding works of other northern nations. Thanks to the labours, among others, of Wakeman, Reeves, Todd, Graves, Petrie, Stokes, and Lord Dunraven, a healthy tone has been introduced into the study of Irish antiquities. We hear less of the "ancestral glories" of Ireland. Rash, not to say audacious conjecture is no longer indulged in. It has been discovered and admitted, even by the English world, that their real age and their intrinsic merits are such as to render exaggeration as unnecessary as it was contemptible; and now that Irish art and Irish civilization are being advocated and explained by the children of her soil in a reasonable manner, and in a critical spirit, they are taking their proper; and that a very high place, in the history of European progress.



**SAINT PETER'S AND SAINT PAUL'S.** *Notes on the Decoration of a few Churches in Italy, including St. Peter's on the Vatican at Rome, with suggestions for proceeding with the completion of Saint Paul's, in a letter to the Very Rev. R. W. CHURCH, D.C.L., Dean of Saint Paul's.* By EDMUND OLDFIELD, F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

THE object of the author of this work is deserving the attention of all those who have at heart the best decoration to be adopted for our great Metropolitan Cathedral. Mr. Oldfield is a member of the Executive Committee for the completion of Saint Paul's, and has made it his business to take notes during a tour made in Italy, in 1875, of the various styles of embellishment to be seen in such of the Italian Churches as bore any affinity to the London Cathedral. He is careful to state, in the outset of his remarks, that it is far easier to discover what to avoid, than to find out such supreme excellencies of design and execution, as should serve as perfect models for the work still demanding completion. Four cities, namely, Florence, Genoa, Milan, and Rome, were severally visited, and the examples to be found in them are specially discussed. From some of the interesting Churches of Milan practical hints may be derived. This is especially the case when the Church of S. Vittore al Corpo is examined. The decoration here is very complete, effective, and harmonious. "Successful decoration," says Mr. Oldfield, "does not necessarily require costly materials, neither the highest excellence in any single art." It is, however, requisite that taste and judgment be the motive powers employed; and with these more may be done than by using the talents of the greatest artists in any form of art. The decorative work existing at St. Peter's at Rome receives the fullest consideration. Grand as is the design of the dome, the decoration may be pronounced equal in all respects, and the real reason of its excellence arises from the very proper application of the means adopted to secure so genuine an end. Ornamentation should, in all cases, be made subservient to construction. Mr. Oldfield's concluding remarks are based upon two distinct yet co-relative principles, the one being founded on his own personal observations of the splendid effect produced by the adaptation of mosaic work in the interior of the cupola of St. Peter's at Rome; and the other on the known desire of Sir Christopher Wren to have similarly enriched the dome of St. Paul's with the same durable material. The cupola, it is suggested, is the central portion of the entire structure, any ornamentation, therefore, of its surface, would naturally present a key-note or standard to which all other parts should not only correspond, but be fitly subordinate. Questions of detail, and these are obvious to the meanest capacity, might be wisely referred to some of our most classical artists whose qualifications for the task few would venture to dispute. It is well that a subject of so much magnitude and demanding so much care, should have called forth the kind of practical essay here presented for the perusal of the public. In it, the attention of the reader is not permitted to wander at random, but every observation and remark tends with directness of purpose and lucidity of explanation to a comprehension of those leading facts which are the safeguards of art students all over the world. W. B.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

THE operations for the transport of Cleopatra's Needle to this country are fast progressing. The monument of Thothmes III. has been excavated from the bed of sand in which it has lain for centuries, and successfully floated upon the waters of the Mediterranean, and we may hope before long to see it arrive in England. The general plan of this great undertaking may be briefly stated as follows :—

A wrought-iron, water-tight, and cylindrical pontoon, 92 ft. long and 15 ft. in diameter, has been made at the Thames Iron Works, sent out in pieces, and built round the Needle in its position as it lay partly imbedded in the sand. These works began in June last, under the superintendence of Mr. Waynman Dixon, and by the beginning of September the strange ship was successfully launched, by rolling it down causeways to the water. Bilge pieces, to obviate the rolling ; two small sails, for steadying the vessel ; a deck-house for four or five men ; a hurricane-deck, and steering-gear were afterwards added in the dry dock at Alexandria. The vessel was christened on September 19th, and started for England on the 21st, in tow of a steamer, accompanied by the hearty wishes of all antiquaries for its safe passage through the rough waters of the Bay of Biscay. Once arrived at Westminster, the decks will be cleared away, and the obelisk rolled up an inclined plane to its resting-place.

It is interesting to compare the ancient method of transporting obelisks in early times with that employed at the present day. Some 1,500 years before Christ, the first difficulty to be overcome was that of cutting these vast blocks from the quarries, and this appears to have been effected by means of metal wedges, which were struck at the same instant along the entire length of the stones ; sometimes, however, the wedges were of highly dried wood, which being driven into holes and then saturated with water, split the stone by their expansion. The mass so detached had to be transported from the granite quarries of Syene to its destination, distant from Karnac 138, or from Heliopolis no less than 800 miles. The striking picture by Mr. Poynter, representing the manner in which masses of stone were possibly moved, will be in the recollection of our readers. But, as regards obelisks, Pliny tells us that two flat-bottomed boats were lashed together side by side ; these boats being then admitted into a canal cut from the Nile to the place where the stone lay, were laden with ballast equal to the weight of the obelisk, which ballast, as soon as the boats had been introduced beneath the transverse block, was all taken out, and the boats rising bore away the obelisk. As to the way in which the stone was raised into an erect position, Sharpe, in his "Ancient Egypt," says that a groove was cut in the pedestal stone, and the lower edge of the obelisk being raised by

rollers into this groove, turned in it as on a hinge, its head being lifted up by a mound of earth raised higher and higher till the stone which leaned upon it was placed upright.

The operations undertaken by the French Government for the removal of the obelisk at Luxor to the Place de la Concorde in Paris, extended over two years, and cost from first to last £80,000, a ship being specially built for the purpose. The excellent idea of recording pictorially upon the base the means that were employed for raising it into its new position might be well followed in the present instance.

Cleopatra's Needle originally formed one of two obelisks which stood in front of the great temple at Heliopolis, near Cairo, and was brought by one of the Ptolemies, or by Cleopatra, or possibly by one of the Cæsars, to adorn the palace at Alexandria. Another of the Egyptian obelisks removed to Europe is the celebrated monolith taken by Constantine to Constantinople from the sacred temple of Serapis. Another is that one taken from the tomb of Arsinoë, and which was re-erected by the architect Fontana, and now stands before St. Peter's in Rome.

Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, presented Cleopatra's Needle to the British Government in the beginning of this century, as a trophy of the success of the British arms in Egypt, and efforts were then unsuccessfully made to carry the obelisk away. Since that time the matter has been more than once under consideration, but no Government has been willing to undertake the cost and difficulty of the work. So short a time ago as in 1867 the obelisk was actually threatened with destruction—to be broken up for building materials, and this astounding fact coming to the knowledge of General Sir J. E. Alexander, he endeavoured to procure aid for its removal from Government, but without success. Finally, through the intervention of Lord Derby, he was presented to the Khedive, the grandson of Mehemet Ali, who gave him full powers to remove the obelisk. It was then uncovered by Messrs. Dixon, and plans prepared, and the state of the case being represented to Mr. Erasmus Wilson, that gentleman nobly undertook the cost of the transport and setting up in this country of one of the most remarkable monuments in the world. The obelisk is 69 ft. long, but 8 ft. square at the base, and weighs about 220 tons.

Through the kindness of our active member, Mr. J. Tom Burgess, we are enabled to record an interesting archaeological discovery lately made in Warwickshire.

In the month of June some labourers were employed to pull down some outbuildings at Bubbenhall, near the seat of Mr. Bromley Davenport, M.P., with a view of remodelling and erecting them. These buildings were apparently roofed with the ordinary red tiles of the neighbourhood and as they were taken off they were piled under a hedge, and in an adjoining field. Nothing appeared extraordinary about them until almost by chance one of them was found to bear an inscription in Roman letters. Altogether seven or eight were found to be thus stamped, though many, perhaps, twenty or thirty, were obviously of the same age, make, and material. One of these was taken to Mr. Burgess; two were taken to Ryton-on-Dunsmore, and four remain at Mr. Grimes' of Bubbenhall. Mr. Burgess sent a description of the tiles to several well-known antiquaries, and on July 14th a brief description—not altogether accurate—appeared in *Notes and Queries*. This note has given

rise to some correspondence, the gist of which is embodied, with the "note and query," in the following letter :—

"SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a paragraph which appeared in last week's *Notes and Queries*, page 28, reading as follows :—

"OLD ROMAN INSCRIPTION.—In repairing the roof of an old house at Bubbenhall, near Leamington, a quantity of Roman tiles were removed, on seven of which the appended inscription was plainly visible. The house is said to be more than two hundred years old, and its roof had evidently been built of these ancient tiles, which, from their number, had doubtless been found in the neighbourhood. Tradition is silent respecting the occupation by the Romans of the spot. It is, however, not far from the Fosseway. Perhaps some of your readers can throw light on the name of the cohort of which L. Æmilius Salvianus was tribune :—

DEO INVICTO  
HERCVLI SACR  
L. AEML. SALVIANVS  
TRB COH IVANGI  
VS. P.M.

Do these contractions read *Voto suscepto* and *Posuit merito*?—VICAR.'

"Now, Sir, this is an exact copy of an inscription found at the great Roman station at Risingham, in Northumberland, nearly three centuries ago. It occurs upon an altar, which is now preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was first described by Camden, in his 1607 edition of his *Britannia*. It is the 'Northumberland LXXXI' of Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, and is described by Dr. Bruce in the *Lopidarium Septentrionale* (No. 598, page 310). The latter author, from an inspection of the stone in its present state, says that he cannot make out the last letter but one as P, but that all now visible is I. He, therefore, takes the last line to be the usual formula on altars, V.S.L.M. These tiles, however, seem to confirm Camden's and Horsley's readings of P., the expansion of the phrase not being, as 'Vicar' considers, *Voto suscepto* and *Posuit merito*, but *Votum solvit posuit merito*. The cohort named is COHORS. I. VANGIONVM, many inscriptions having been left by it at Risingham. Lucius Æmilius Salvianus commanded it, as we know by another inscription in the year A.D. 205. Whether the tiles found bear modern copies of the inscription, or whether they are of the Roman period, is a most interesting question; I am inclined to think the first-named hypothesis the correct one.—I remain, Sir, yours very truly,

"W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

"39, Plumpton Street, Everton, Liverpool, July 18th, 1877."

A close examination of the nine stamps—for two of the tiles are stamped twice—revealed the name to be Salvianus, and that he was tribune of the 1st Cohort of Vangiones, a people of Germany inhabiting the district of Hesse Darmstadt, and their capital was called Borbeto-magus, and is now known as the City of Worms. These people are mentioned by Lucan, i., v. 431, and by Cæsar, G. i., c. 51, and by Tacitus.

The principal doubt respecting these tiles is their rarity. An inscription similar to this has never been recorded as found on any tile before. The tile is of the ordinary shape, 10 in. by 7½ in., and a little more than half an inch thick, with one "stub" in the centre of the upper part. The stamp 4 in. by 3 in., has been cut in relief like type on a block of metal, which has evidently had a polished surface. The T in Invicto,

and the I's in Aemil, Salvianus, and Trib are all carried above the line. If some one saw the inscription in Camden's *Britannia*, Gibson's Edition, 1695, p. 451, and imitated it, he must have had some knowledge of antiquity, for Gibson gives the last letter but one as L, "Libenter" whilst on the tiles it is P, "Posuit," or, as some have rendered it, "Pietum." If they are genuine, it is, as Mr. Bloxam remarks, the most important discovery of Roman remains in Warwickshire since the finding at Alcester, upwards of 200 years ago, of silver denarii and 14 or 15 Roman aurei.

Though Warwickshire is absolutely bounded by Roman military ways and is traversed in an oblique direction by the Roman Fosseway, not an inscribed stone has been found or recorded which could throw the slightest light on the soldiers or the people who inhabited the vale and plains of the South or the hills and woodlands of the North—the famed and poetic Forest of Arden. Three of the stations mentioned in the Iters of Antoninus are partly within the county boundary, and one, Alauna, is wholly in Warwickshire, and on the estate of the Marquis of Hertford. At Benones (High Cross), the Roman centre of England, where the Watling Street and the Fosseway intersect each other, carved stones are recorded by Burton, in his history of Leicestershire, to have been found, but their whereabouts is unknown.

Mr. Charles Roach Smith points out how many eminent French antiquaries have been taken in by similar so-called inscribed antiquities. Tiles, we know, are fragile articles, and the preservation of thin tiles whole like these through sixteen and a half centuries of storms, war, and tempests, is a strong argument against their antiquity.

When Mr. Burgess visited the spot the building itself had been removed, but much of the *débris* remained. The fire-place and chimney-stack had evidently been built of strong mortar, in which pounded brick had been freely used with binding courses of similar tiles. The roof itself was not all composed of these so-called Roman tiles, but there were other tiles of similar appearance, but broader and stouter, and not made of so fine a material.

Of course it is a mere matter of conjecture as to where the tiles, if genuine, came from. There is a well-defined Roman camp at Wappenbury, and Mr. C. Twamley went with Mr. Burgess to visit what appears to have been the site of a Roman station, or castrum, at Wolston. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. x., p. 217, Mr. Moultrie, of Rugby, describes the opening of a low barrow at Ryton-on-Dunsmore, in which he found a large plate of iron, apparently Roman. In the line of early entrenchments and camps along the Avon, there is a vacancy about this place. The matter is worth attention, and, though much more might be said about the Roman sites in the neighbourhood, it is sufficient at present to record the fact and make the doubt of experts known.

We are also indebted to Mr. Burgess for the notice of a find of 300 silver pennies of William I. and II., on the mounds at Tamworth, in the beginning of August last.

Major-General A. Lane Fox has been lately engaged with several workmen in making some interesting excavations into Mount Caburn, on behalf of the combined committees of the British Association and Anthropological Institute. A number of pits were found in the interior of the camp, and some of them have been opened. They are of different sizes, and between

six and seven feet deep, and are of a square, oval, and round shape. They were evidently human habitations, and would contain perhaps two persons crouched up together, there not being room for them to lie extended. They were found to contain the bones of a great variety of animals used for food, but chiefly of the ox, pig, and goat; the remains have been sent to Professor Rolleston, of Oxford, for identification. The filling in of the pits appears to be of the late Celtic period, but whether the pits themselves are of the same age it is difficult to determine. A large basin-shaped shaft, 16 ft. deep, has been cleared on the south side of Mount Caburn. In this case it is also difficult to decide the object of the pit, but it appears in all probability to have been sunk by the inhabitants of an earlier period for the purpose of obtaining flints similar to those of Cissbury. A vein of flints was found near the bottom of the shaft, but there are no galleries, as is the case at Cissbury, where they are perfect in the shafts that have been discovered. Probably in the present instance the flints were found to be unsuitable, and the works were abandoned. A section was cut through the rampart in order to ascertain by the pottery whether it was of the same age. Large quantities of pottery were found, which was of an earlier period to that in the pits in the interior, indicating that the rampart is probably of an earlier date, and that the fort was subsequently occupied by a later race of people in the Celtic age. At the bottom of the pits were discovered several implements of the late Celtic type—amongst other things, a knife, battle-axe, and a kind of iron spud; also a bone comb.

In the course of the alterations that are now being carried out inside the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, portions of the figure of the patron saint have been found, with parts of the dragon upon which St. Margaret is usually represented as standing.

It is said that King Edward the Confessor caused this church to be erected close to the Abbey, which he was then building, dedicating it to St. Margaret, the virgin martyr of Alexandria. About 200 years afterwards the church was destroyed by accident and rebuilt by the parishioners and merchants of the Staple. Some other parts are said to have been rebuilt in the reign of Edward IV., and particularly the south aisle by Lady Mary Billing, and her husband, Sir Thomas Billing, Chief Justice of England in that reign. In the reign of Edward VI. the church was in imminent danger of being totally destroyed, for the Duke of Somerset, wanting materials for the palace he had begun to erect, determined to demolish the church. But the parishioners resisted the workmen and put a stop to the duke's plans. In 1735 the tower was rebuilt and the church finally ceiled with money granted by Parliament.

No glass has such a wonderful history as the east window. The magistrates of Dort, in Holland, being desirous of presenting King Henry VII. with something worthy to adorn his magnificent chapel, then building at Westminster, directed this window to be made at Gouda, and which was five years in finishing, King Henry and his Queen sending their pictures, whence their portraits in the window are taken. King Henry died before the window was completed, and it fell into the hands of an abbot of Waltham, who placed it in his abbey church, where it remained till the dissolution of that abbey by Henry VIII. (A.D. 1540). To preserve it from being destroyed it was removed by Robert Fuller, Abbot of Waltham, to a private chapel at New Hall, in Wiltshire, an

ancient seat belonging to the earls of Ormond. In Queen Elizabeth's reign New Hall was the seat of Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, and afterwards his family sold the window to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. His son sold it to General Monk, who, to preserve it, caused it to be buried underground during the Civil Wars. After the Restoration, General Monk caused the window to be replaced in the chapel of New Hall. That chapel was suffered to become ruinous by his successors, but the window was still preserved. It lay for some time cased up in boxes, until Mr. Conyers purchased it for his chapel at Copthall, near Epping, and paid an artist named Price a large sum of money for repairing it. There the window remained until his son, John Conyers, building a new house at some distance from the old seat, had no further use for it, and sold it for the sum of 400 guineas to the committee appointed in 1758 for the repairing and beautifying of St. Margaret's church. Thus the window finally rests within a stone's throw of its original destination.

Messrs. Minshull and Hughes announce the early publication of a "Glossary of Words used in the Dialect of Cheshire" (founded on a similar attempt by Roger Wilbraham, contributed to the Society of Antiquaries in 1875), by the late Lieut.-Col. Egerton Leigh, M.P.

The majority of the words in this glossary will be illustrated by colloquial expressions contributed by various pens to the late author, who has enriched its pages with a great number of vernacular sentences and trite sayings, taken down by himself from the lips of the peasantry in the different districts of Cheshire. The words included in Roger Wilbraham's "attempt" form scarcely a tithe of those which will be found in the forthcoming volume.

The dialect peculiar to the county is, thanks to the march of education, and the rapid interchange now constantly going on between the inhabitants of Cheshire and those from a distance, rapidly dying out; and it is certain that, in a few years, the production of a work similar to the one now in question, would of necessity be most imperfect and indeed well-nigh impossible.

The glossary will be issued in two sizes, viz.:—crown 8vo (small paper), price 10s. 6d., and crown 4to (large paper), 100 copies only printed, price 21s. Subscriptions will be received by the publishers, Eastgate Row, Chester.

The remarkable series of monumental effigies of the De la Beche family in Aldworth church, near Reading, are at last going to be properly illustrated, and we have much satisfaction in informing our readers, that Mr. Thomas Goodman has made measured drawings of these interesting series of Edwardian effigies, and proposes to publish them by photo-lithography, the Vicar of Aldworth supplying historical and descriptive memoirs. The effigies are of stone and nine in number, and are included within the period 1280—1382. The sculpture is of the highest order, and illustrates most accurately the military costume of the period. It is proposed to proceed with the publication as soon as the names of 100 subscribers at one guinea each have been obtained. Names of subscribers will be received by Mr. Goodman, Southend, Essex, or by the Rev. F. Llewellyn Lloyd, Aldworth Vicarage, Reading.

Mr. Thomas North proposes to publish, by subscription, in foolscap

4to, price 21s., "The Church Bells of Northamptonshire." This author is so well known by his "Church Bells of Leicestershire," that the campanology of Northamptonshire cannot be other than gladly welcomed by our members, and more especially at the present time, since the next meeting of the Institute will take place in this historic county. Subscribers' names will be received by Mr. S. Clarke, bookseller, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester.

On the application of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle have consented to the publication of "Bishop Nicolson's Visitation of the Diocese of Carlisle in 1703 and 1704."

In this quaint and interesting manuscript, Dr. Nicolson, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, the author of "The English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries," and of the "*Leges Marchiarum*," has preserved for us the most minute account of all the churches, parsonage and vicarage houses in his diocese (the old diocese of Carlisle), as they stood at the time of his primary visitation in 1703 and 1704. As he has copied every lettered monument he came across, and has recorded every shield of arms he found, the manuscript is of peculiar value to the local genealogists, for many monuments given by him are now utterly lost. Among the 150 inscriptions recorded by him will be found several relating to the Lowthers, the Musgraves, the Lawsons, the Grahams, the Howards of Corby, the Curwens, the Hasells, the Salkelds, the Chambers, &c.

A painful light is thrown upon the condition of the clergy at that time in the North of England; their poverty, and the shifts by which some of them had to eke out their stipends, are all most graphically described. Many curious customs with regard to tithes, to Easter dues, to burial and other fees, &c., are noted down; and in many of these the antiquarian will find survivals of the earliest institutions of this country. The Terriers are also given at length.

The bishop extended his visitation to the village schools, which he often found to be held in the churches, with the altar table as the school table. In many churches, particularly in the deanery of Appleby, the altar appears to have stood east and west, and the bishop has frequently to complain of the want of altar rails, while some churches he found to have no copy of the authorised version of the Bible, others no surplice.

The volume will be edited by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, M.A., F.S.A., the editor of the Societies' "Transactions," and will be published in demy 8vo, price to subscribers, 10s. 6d. Names will be received by Messrs. Thurnam, 11, English Street, Carlisle.

The Rev. Henry Trail Simpson, late rector of Adel, announces for publication, by subscription, the "History of the Parish of Adel, Yorkshire, and the Early Antiquities of the neighbourhood of Leeds." Much may be said about the interesting Norman church (of which the original flat roof was done away by restoration in evil times), and no doubt will be well said by the author, who has had every opportunity for studying his subject. Like Barfreston and Stewkley, the building itself has been but little altered, and its full illustration and history is something to look forward to. Subscriptions, 15s., will be received by the author at Swindon, near Cheltenham.

The Annual Meeting of the Institute will be held next year at Northampton.





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